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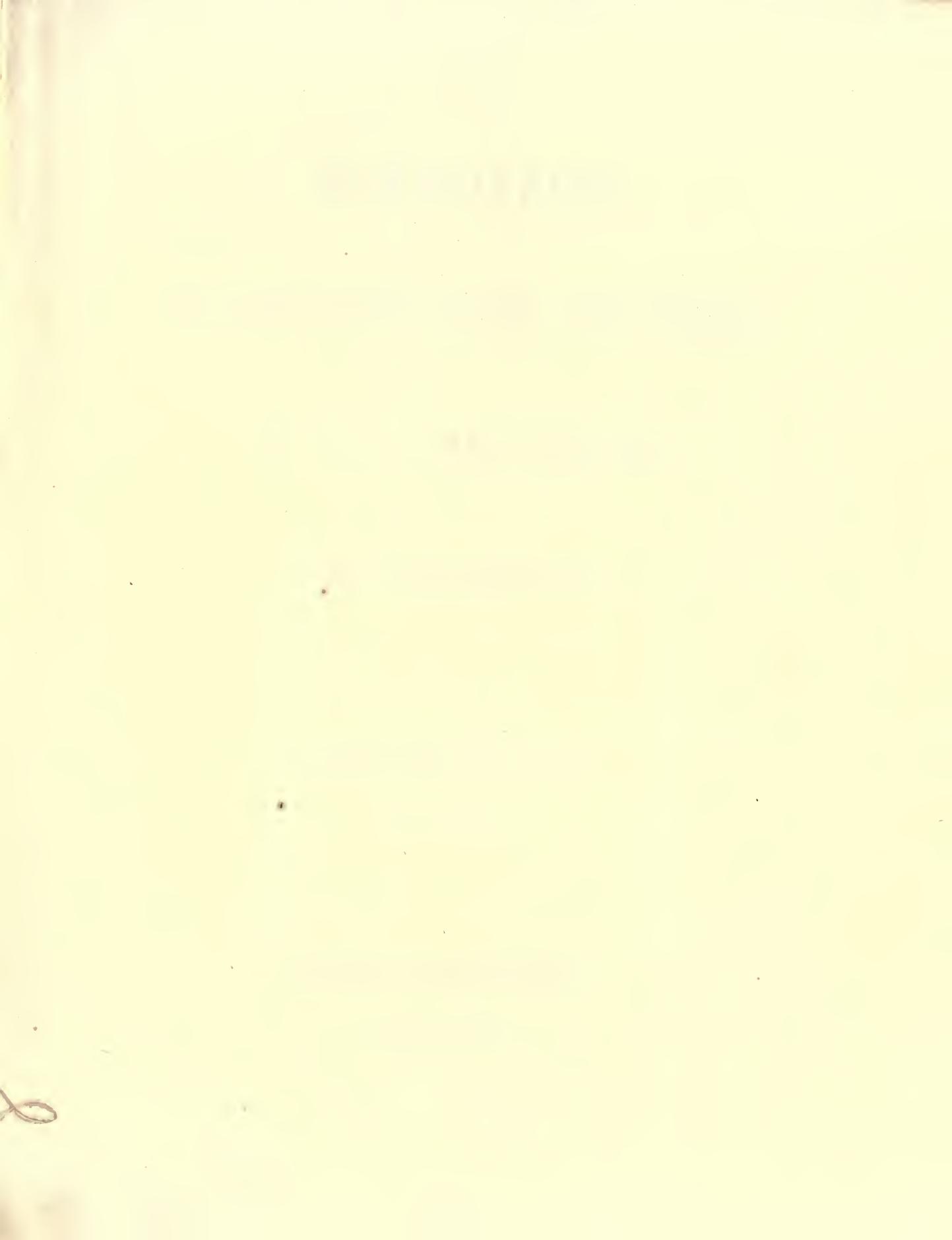


UNIVERSITY OF GUELPH

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MEMOIRS
OF HIS OWN LIFE AND TIMES

BY SIR JAMES TURNER.

M.DC.XXXII.—M.DC.LXX.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

PRINTED AT EDINBURGH.

M.DCCC.XXIX.

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AT A MEETING of the COMMITTEE of MANAGEMENT
of the BANNATYNE CLUB, held at Edinburgh, on
the 11th day of June, 1828.

IT having been stated to the Meeting by the Vice-President, that
"THE MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES TURNER," from an original Ma-
nuscript in the possession of David Constable, Esq. Advocate, were
in preparation for the press, it was

RESOLVED, That One Hundred Copies of the Work should be
purchased for the use of the Club.

DAVID LAING, *Secretary.*



THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

M.DCCC.XXIX.

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100 THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON WRANGHAM.

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The Regt of Dragoons which hopped on'th' rock
enough, till we stoned a trench they had at the foot of the
hill whereby they commanded the stripes of water, that made
water in the gullies fords of the river, none but the snow, was
left for us or horse, with Argiles Major. After this, Inexorable
Death made them do his farce; I was ordered to speak with
them, neither could the Lt General be moved to grant any other
condicione, then that they sent goods on Q's proportion, or Money. And
I found strange to me to hours the Lt General's voice, that
he, that always sent goods themselves to the King James' Mar
cy, and not to his: At length they did so, and after they were
come out of the Castle, they mounted for the snow, across
Molhard banner, except one young man Mackon't, as he left
I bigg'd a boar to his friends with a hundred country fellows, whom
no man snatched out of a car, as they do for us? As he went down
to Captainne Cambell, the Chanceller of Bn ther.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

THE work here given, under the title of **MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES TURNER**, has been extracted from a volume of Discourses on various subjects of Philosophy and Literature, in the hand-writing of the author, compiled at different periods of his life ; and with the different portions of which he has connected a history of himself, down to the date of the manuscript in the year 1670. The relation of these biographical portions of the volume to its other contents, will best appear from a short analysis of the whole, which is subjoined to this Preface ; and on the part of the Editor it may be enough to add, that no liberty of the slightest kind has been taken with the author's composition, beyond that of separating these historical parts from the larger mass, and arranging them as a continuous narrative.

The hand-writing of Sir James Turner is sufficiently well known to place the genuineness of this manuscript beyond the possibility of a doubt ; and of its fate subsequently to the author's death, some slight

notices have been preserved. He was survived by his wife, to whose worth so many affectionate tributes are paid in these Memoirs ; and after his death, Lady Turner resided in the family of Lieutenant Richard Turnbull, of the Scots Dragoons, (whose wife was probably her near relation,) first in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, afterwards in the Island of Arran, at the White House of Lamlash, where she died, as is supposed, about the year 1716. To Mr and Mrs Turnbull, she is reported to have left a considerable sum of money, and other valuable property ; and, in particular, there can be no doubt that they retained the possession of Sir James Turner's manuscripts.

These papers did not escape the notice and inquiries of the indefatigable Mr Robert Wodrow ; and, in the valuable collection of his Correspondence, lately purchased by the Curators of the Advocates' Library, there are several letters on the subject, addressed to him by the Rev. James Boes, minister of Campbeltown. On the 8th of July, 1723, Mr Boes writes,—“ I have caus'd enquyre at Mr Turnbull anent Sir James Turner's Memoirs, and find he has them, but is not willing to part with them, being, as he says, pre-ingadg'd to the D. of Hamiltone not to part with them till he see them. I shall deall with the Arran ministers to use their interest with him for a sight of them, under what security he shall demand ; and if so, ye shall have an account of them one way or other.” Again, on the 4th of February, 1724, Mr Boes reports to his correspondent as follows :—“ I desired Mr Stuart, [minister of Kilbride,] in Arran, to procure a copy of Sir

Ja. Turner's manuscript, and particularly intreated him, which he promised to do. The person Turnbull who has it, tho' otherwise a discreet man, yet is at the heart strongly prelatical, and a Jacobite, as is his wife. However, if it can be procured, doubt not of its being sent to you." These attempts had proved unsuccessful; and, in answer to a letter from Mr Wodrow, March 2, 1724, "praying the continuance of his endeavours to get a loan of Sir James Turner's papers from Mr Turnbull, if he would not part with them," Mr Boes writes, on 3d of November, 1724,—"I have done all I could, both here and in Arran, to procure that manuscript of Sir Ja. Turner, but without success. Mr Turnbull is dead, and his relict, who is but ill affected to our interest, refuses to part with it, saying, she knows not where it is. However, if I can possibly procure it, ye shall have at least a copy, tho' I'm told by such as perused it, that it contains but a narrative of what he did there, with his orders, and reflections on what he calls the stiff humor, and obstinat refractory temper of the people oppressed and persecuted by him, which was all he had to say in his own justification."

After Mrs Turnbull's death, her effects passed into the possession of her nephew, William Wilson, a person of respectability in the island of Arran, who probably allowed the papers, so eagerly sought after by Wodrow, to remain undisturbed and uncared for. At the sale of his furniture, after his death in 1767, a strong box of nice and curious construction happened to attract the attention of Mr John Stuart, son of

the Rev. Gershom Stuart, minister of Kilbride, and grandson of the Rev. James Stewart, mentioned in Wodrow's Correspondence, then a youth of thirteen years old, and afterwards his father's successor. His importunities prevailed on his mother to purchase this box ; and on examining it, young Stuart discovered the manuscript in question, together with a considerable number of letters addressed to Sir James Turner; all of which, though perfectly legible, had suffered great injury from damp. When he afterwards went to College at Glasgow, he carried this manuscript with him, and placed it in the hands of Robert and Andrew Foulis, the celebrated printers of that University, with permission to print such parts of it as they might think fit. This, however, was declined, and the manuscript remained in the possession of Mr Stuart till about twenty years ago, when it was brought into notice by the publication of a few extracts in a provincial newspaper. It passed afterwards into the hands of a bookseller at Greenock, from whom, it is believed, it was purchased about ten years ago, by the late Mr Archibald Constable, whose intention it certainly was to have published the historical portions of the volume. The manuscript is now the property of David Constable, Esq. advocate ; and with his permission the present edition of these Memoirs has been prepared.

To the Memoirs are here added, in an Appendix, the Letters addressed to Sir James Turner, found in his strong-box or cabinet ; which, although not perhaps of very deep historical importance, throw some

scattered lights on the course of his life for several years after his removal from military employment, and will be found to exhibit some amiable contrasts to those darker impressions of his character, which have been too deeply, and, it is to be feared, too justly stamped on the contemporary history of his age, ever to be effaced.

At every period of his life, Sir James Turner appears to have been much addicted to literary composition. Besides his printed works, of which “*Pallas Armata*,—Essays on the Art of War,” is the most considerable, he left various manuscripts ; but among these, little of any value as a fit addition to this historical work has been found, excepting a few remarks on Bishop Guthry’s Memoirs. These are valuable, as the testimony, in most instances, of an eye-witness, and have been, accordingly, introduced into the Appendix to this volume, printed from the original manuscript in the Advocates’ Library.

In the same Library there is preserved a copy of another work, entitled “ Buchanan Revis’d ; or, Animadversions on the Historie of “ Scotland, and a Dialogue *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, both write “ by Mr George Buchanan.” This work is in its nature controversial, and intended to counteract the anti-monarchical principles of the writings which he undertakes to criticise ; but in the Introduction, Sir James Turner has given some few additional notices of himself, which it has been thought worth while to quote in the Appendix.

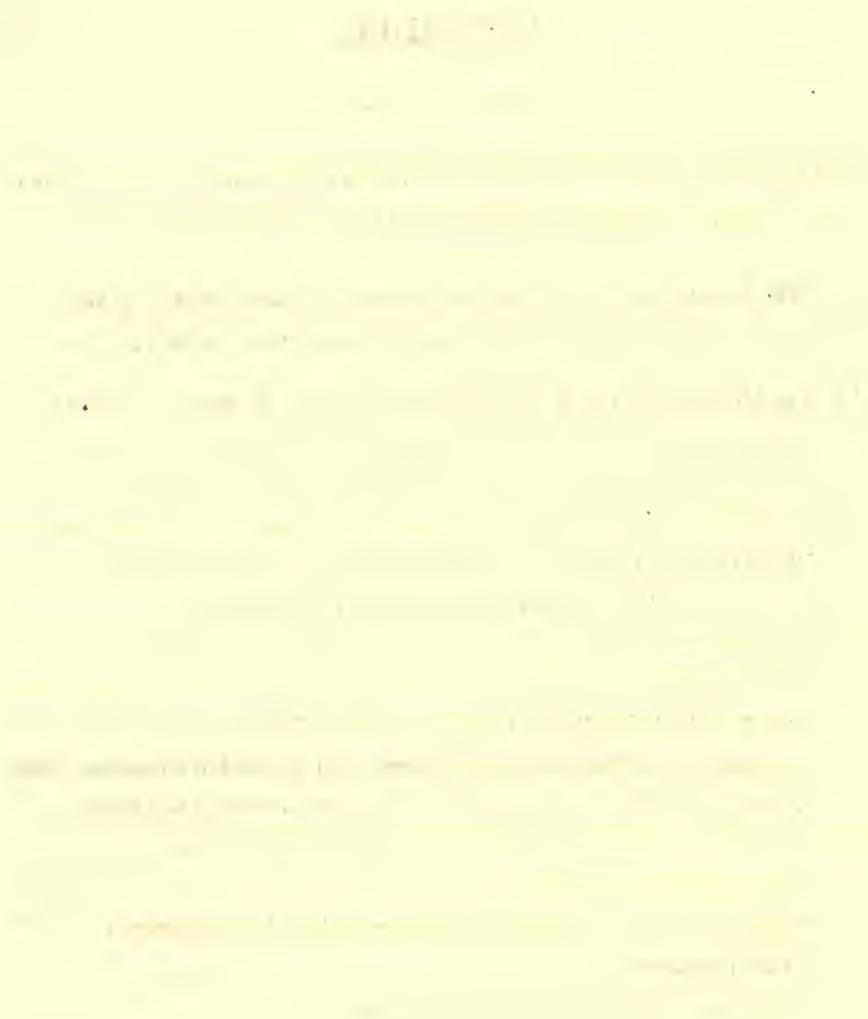


Fig. 1. The relationship between the number of species (S) and the number of individuals (N) for three data sets.

the number of species (S) and the number of individuals (N) for three data sets.

As the number of species (S) increases, the number of individuals (N) increases, as shown in Figure 1.

As the number of species (S) increases, the number of individuals (N) increases, as shown in Figure 1.

APPENDIX.

 I. ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS OF THE MANUSCRIPT FROM WHICH
 SIR JAMES TURNER'S MEMOIRS HAVE BEEN EXTRACTED.

P. 1. " *The Introduction to these Discourses, wherein are contained the most remarkable Passages of my Life, till my releasement out of Prison at Hull, in the Year 1649.*"

P. 68. The following ESSAYS or DISCOURSES, are of—(1) DUTIES OF SOVERAIGNS AND SUBJECTS.—(2) THE SUPREME POUER IN ALL REPUBLICKS.—(3) MONARCHIE.—(4) ARISTOCRACIE.—(5) DEMOCRACIE.—(6) ORATORS AND PREACHERS.—(7) MAGICKS.—(8) THE JEWS CABALE.—(9) FRIENDSHIP.—(10) EXTERNALL EVILLS AND MISFORTUNES.—(11) IMPRISONMENT.—(12) ANGER.—(13) REVENGE.—(14) DUELLS.—(15) CRUELIE.

P. 192. A Letter from Don Francisco of Quevedo to Philander of Sitmald, who wrote the Continuation of Quevedos Visions. Concerning some Discourses which passed in the Infernall Court betweene the late Vsurper Oliver Cromwell, the late Chancellor of Sweden, Axell Oxesterne, and the Lord Wilienstrom. Sent by the Post of Hell. In yeare 1659. Englished out of the Hie Dutche.

P. 230. A Defence of some Ceremonies of the English Liturgie—to wit:
 Bowing at the name of Jesus.
 The frequent repetition of the Lord's Prayer, and good Lord deliver us.
 Of the Doxologie.
 Of Surplesses, Rotchets, and Canonickall Coats.

P. 271. " *A full Narration of the Insurrection in Scotland towards the latter end of the Yeare 1666, and of my Misfortunes following thereupon.*"

P. 272. "In the Introduction are contained the remarkable Passages of my Life, from my releasement out of Prison at Hull, in 8^{ber} 1649 till 9^{ber} 1663. The rest are narrated in the Narration till the Yeare of God 1670."

P. 308. *The Narration.*

P. 387. The Concometancie of Joy and Griefe. (*in verse.*)

P. 389. Two Heroicall Epistles, supposed to haue beene writ by Mahomet the Great and Irene, the faire Greeke.

Composed before I was ane and twentie yeares of age.

P. 403. End of the two Epistles.

P. 404. Ane Elegie on the Death of the Earle of Lothian. Designed by William Douglas of Tofts

"The Argument.—It wants but a few yeaers of halfe ane age since the Earle of Lothian's death made a great noyse in the world: The strange manner of it furnishing matter of strange discourses to people of all rankes and qualities. He was a person of a great spirit, endued with excellent parts. He had seene the most renouned places of Europe. Naturally curions he was, which perhaps made him studie Astrologie. He made choyce of William Douglas of Tofts to be his freend, his confident, and his *alter ego*. This was a gentleman of a good spirit, generous, and learned *in omni scibili*, especially in the Mathematickes, wherein he had attained to so great a perfection, that he had no equal in his ounе countrey, perhaps few in Christendome. As intimate as he was with the Earle, it is cleare enough, by his ounе complaints, that he was not entrusted with the secret of his death. He either finish'd, or intended to finish, the composition of ane Elegie on this sad subject. In the yeare 1662, I fortund to be in the Mers, wher I gave a visite to Archbald Douglas of Lumsden, brother to this Tofts, where he shew me this peece, pitifullie borne, mutilated, defective in most places, and writ with a very bad orthographie. He and I having long befor contracted a strict enough friendship in Germanie, he prayed me to look on it, and to take a little paines to reduce it to some good order, at least to make it intelligible,

XV.

for the memory of his noble brother who design'd it. And certainly the original wanted his last hand to it, or that copie which his brother gave me was exceedinglie imperfite. I tooke it with me to Edinburgh; foure days I spent before I could get it red, and foure more before I could vnderstand or guesse at the scope of it. At length I put it in that garbe in which it is now to be seene, and sent it to my friend."

P. 429. MISCELLANIES written at several times for DIVERTISEMENT.—The PREFACE.

—FRANCESCO PETRARCHA.—EDWARD THE THIRD, KING OF ENGLAND.
—PHILIP THE SECOND, KING OF SPAIN.—LUCRETIA ROMANA.—LUCRETIA BORGIA.—LUCRETIA MARINELLA.—ORLANDO.—ENHARD and IMA,
[i. e. EGINHARD and EMMA.]—JULIUS SCALIGER.—MARY STEUART,
QUEEN OF SCOTS.—RAYMUNDUS LULLUS.—THE STRANGE EVENT OF A
DISPUTE IN RELIGION.—CARDINAL MAZARINE.—THE KING'S EVILL.—
WALLENSTEIN, DUKE OF FRIEDLAND.—GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.—MARY TOUTHER, QUEENE OF ENGLAND.—CHARLES
GUSTAVE, KING OF SWEDEN.—CHRISTINA, QUEENE OF SWEDEN.

END.

II. EXTRACT FROM THE INTRODUCTION TO "BUCHANAN
REVISED," &c.

"I BEGAN to write these papers which follow, in the year of God 1643, in Ireland, bot made no great progresse in them, being otherwayes employed there, and afterwards in Scotland and England: Bot fyve years after that, being prisoner in Hull, in England, from September 1648, till November 1649, I had leasure and opportunitie enough to write; and such was the civiltie of Colonell Overtoun, then governour of that towne, that he permitted the stationers to furnish me with any books I call'd for, the peruseall whereof I had at an easie rate per week; nor did he hinder me to write any thing my fancie led me to; and when I had gott my libertie mostly procur'd by him, he suffered not any of my papers to be search'd, though in severalls of them I had write my opinions very freely of the King's murther, and that of James Duke of Hamiltone, and of the change of monarchy in a pretended commonwealth. There it was that I finish'd all I intended to say of Buchanans writeings; bnt my papers were all taken and destroyed by the Cromuelians, in the year 1651, when Dundee was taken, sack'd, and plundered by Generall Monek, who liv'd to doe more acceptable service to God and his Prince, and all the three kingdomes. I had car'd the lesse for the destruction of these papers, if I had not lost better moveables; bless'd be God for his mercy in saving my wife from being kill'd by these furious plunderers. Four years after that, in the year 1655, I found myself in good enough leasure in Bremen, a toun in Germanie, to resume my former labour, which encouraged me to write over most of what I had said before on that subject; and in the year 1659, I finished them at the Hagg, in Holland. All these papers lay by me almost in loose sheets, till the year 1669, a year after I had laid down my commissions, and then I had leasure more then enough to write them over in mundo; and indeid they have lyen ever since in parcells by me, till in this year 1679, I was mov'd by a very accidentall emergencie, to cause bind them together in one book, as now you see them."

MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES TURNER;

PART FIRST,

**WHEREIN ARE CONTAINED
THE MOST REMARKABLE PASSAGES OF HIS LIFE
TILL HIS RELEASEMENT OUT OF PRISON
AT HULL IN THE YEAR 1649.**



SIR JAMES TURNER'S MEMOIRS.

I WAS not feventeene yeares old when I left the schooles, where haveing lightlie passed thorough that course of philosophie which is ordinarlie taught in the universties of Scotland, I was commanded by my father and grandfather to commence Master of Arts at Glasgow, much against my will, as never intending to make use of that title which undeservedlie was bestowed upon me, as it was on many others before me, and hath beene on too many since. I stayd a yeare after with my father at Dalkeith, applying myselfe to the studie of humane letters and historie, in bothe which I allways tooke delight. I did reade also the controversies of religion betweene us and the Roman Catholickes, (for the Presbyterians at that time made litle or no noyse,) wherby I might be enabled to discern the truth of the Protestant persuasion and the fallacies of the Popish one or any other, that so I might not, in traversing the world, be carried away with everie wind of doctrine. Bot before I attaind to the eighteenth yeare of my age, a restles desyre enterd my mind, to be, if not an actor, at least a spectator of these warrs which at that time made so much noyse over all the world, and were managd against the Roman Emperour and the

Catholicke League in Germanie, under the auspicious conduct of the thrice famous Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sueden. Sir James Lumsdaine was then levieing a regiment for that service; with him, (my neerest freinds consenting to it,) I engaged to go over ensigney to his brother Robert Lumsdaine, eldest capitaine; who since that time was a generall major, and tuo days before the king was routed at Worcester, was killed at Dundee, (where he was governour,) in cold blood, ane hour after he had got quarter.

It was about Lambes of the yeare 1632, that we came before Elfennure in Denmark, where we stayd three days, and therafter landed at Rostock in the Dutchie of Mecklenburg; from whence we marched to the Archbischoprick of Bremen, where, whether with the change of aire or dyet, or by eating too much fruit, (wherof I saw that countrey abound more than my oun,) or all three, I fell grieveouslie sicke. My fever keepd me sixe weeks, and by that time I was able to walke abroad, we were sent to reduce some obstinate countries to order, and force them to submit to the Suedish yoake. This provd a hard and severe winter to me and all of us, who knew not before what it was not to have tuo or three meals aday, and goe to bed at a seafonable houre at night.

The King of Suedens victories had carried him so far up in Germanie, that we never came to see him. At the time of our arriveall, his fortune beganne to decline; for at Nuremberg, trusting to that prodigious successe which had attended all his former undertakeings, he stromed a well fortified campe entrenchd on a hill, in which were tuo armies; the Imperiall under Wallenstein; and that of the League under the Elector of Bavaria. As this was a rash, so it proved an unfor-

tunate; for beaten he was with the losse of neere four thousand killed on the place, among whom were many brave and gentlemen. Neere fixe thousand wounded, so that all the hospitalls and lazarettos of Nuremberg were sufficientlie filld. Nixt November, this magnanimous king, endeavouring to save the Duke of Saxe his lands from the same Wallenstein, losd his life at the battel of Lutzen, which notwithstanding was wonne by the conduct and valour of Bernard Duke of Weimar. In Februare 1633, a strong and vete-rane armie of the Sueds came to the Lower Germanie, under the com-mand of George Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg as generall, and Dodo Baron of Kniphausen as feld marshall, with which joynd Lumf-dains Scots regiment, and one English one under the same Colonell Ashton who was killed at Tradaff or Drogheda in Ireland, where he was governor, where all were put to the fuord by Cromwell in the yeare 1649.

With this armie I had a lamentable cold, wet and rainie march, till we layd siege to the strong toun of Hammeln, which held out, with the destruction of multitudes of our men, till the 28th of June, and till the two earles Merod and Grünsfield, both Imperiall generalls, came with an armie of 20,000 men to relieve it. We broke up, and met them four English miles from thence, and fought them. This was a battell wherin so much blood was shed, as was enough to flesh such novices as I was. We gained the victorie, which was a great one to be gained with so little losse on our fide. Neere nine thousand of the Imperialists were killd in the place, three thousand taken, with eighteene canon, and above eightie standards and collors. The toun yeelded therafter on articles. After this battell, I saw a great many killd in cold blood

by the Finns, who profess to give no quarter. The whole time of this siege, my best entertainment was bread and water, abundance of the laft, but not so of the first ; but this proceeded from want of money, for the leager was plentiful enough. The rest of this summer, nixt harvest and nixt winter, I was at the sieges of severall towns and castles, and at many brushes, encounters and ; and all the tyme sufferd exceeding great want of both meate and clothes, being necessitated to ly constantly in the fields with little or no shelter, to march allways a foot, and drinke water ; so that then I could verifie that which I had so often heard at schoole, *Dulce bellum inexpertis*. And indeed I was so hardend with fatigue, that thogh at first I longd to be backe at Scotland, yet being so well inurd to toile, I fullie resolved to goe on in that course of life of which I had made choyce, and I thought then I could have livd all my days on a very spare dyet, and without a bed too ; so true it is that *Habitus est altera natura*.

In the beginning of the yeare 1634, our English and Scotch regiments, such as they were, came to be quartered at that Oldendorpe neere to which the battell was fought. I was lodged in a widows house, whose daughter, a young widow, had been married to a ritt-maister of the Emperors. She was very handsome, wittie and discreet ; of her, thogh my former toyle might have banished all love thoughts out of my mind, I became perfittlie enamoured. Heere we stayd sixe weeks, in which time she taught me the Hie Dutch, to reade and write it, which before I could not learne bot very rudlie from sojors. Haveing then the countrey language, I learnt also the fashions and customes of the Germane officers ; and about this time was both regiments reduc to tuo companies ; tuo captaine lieutenants, and tuo ensigneys, (wherof

I was one,) onlie ordaind to stand ; all the rest casheerd, and in great necessitie and povertie. The tuo companies were bot badlie used, tosseid to and fro, in constant danger of ane enemie, and without pay. Bot I had learnd so much cunning, and became so vigilant to lay hold on opportunities, that I wanted for nothing, horses, clothes, meate, nor moneys ; and made so good use of what I had learned, that the whole time I servd in Germanie, I fufferd no such miserie as I had done the first yeare and a halfe that I came to it.

It was in this yeare that the Emperors Generalissimo Wallenstein, intending to betray his master, familie and armie, [was put to] death by Gordon and Leflie at Egar in Bohemia, by the way of fact, *per viam facti*, as they call it, because by the way of right, or *de jure*, he was so strong as he could not be proceeded against. The actors were well rewarded by the Emperour, especiallie Leflie. Ferdinand the Second entrusts the conduct of his forces to his sonne the King of Hungarie, who, with the help of the Cardinall Infant, brother to the King of Spaine, gave a total defeate to tuo Suedish armies, under the command of Bernard Duke of Weimar and the Suedish field-marshall Gustave Horne. Sixe thousand or therby, wherof our tuo companies made up some part, were on our march to Nordling, where the battell was fought, to have reinforced the Sueds ; and were within a few leagues of Frankford du Mein when we heard of the rout, and so were countermanded to Westphalia. By this one blow the Sueds loofd more ground then they had gaind in a yeare before ; and nixt yeare most of the Dutch princes made their peace with the Emperor.

Touards the latter end of this yeare, my fathers death calld me to Scotland to give my mother a visite, where I was forcd to stay longer

then I intended; for the frost continued that winter universallie through Europe till the midst of March 1635. In the summer I returned, and being informed at my landing at Bremen, that some officers intended to goe from Hamburg to Persia, I resolvd to make one of that number, and upon that account went thither; where I found many of my countrymen, some English and some Germans, great with child of that expedition, wherin they promisid themselves more gold then the philosophers stone can afford the alchymists. The matter was this. The Duke of Holstein Gotorff intended to set up a trade with Persia, for silks to be transported from Hircania thorough the Caspian sea, and then up the great river Volga, from thence to Riga, then to Holstein. The Sophi of Persia was contented ane embassador shoulde be sent to treate with him concerning the traffique, bot that the embassador shoulde bring with him as many officers as possiblie he could, to traine the Persian foot, wherin he was farre inferior to the Turke. A number of us were to goe as members of the embassadors houshold and traine, because the Great Duke of Musco, being at peace with the Grand Seigneur, wold not suffer us to goe otherwaise; bot the Russie hearing the designe, wrote to the Duke that he wold not suffer his envoy to passe with such followers. After I had spent some of my moneys at Hamburg, and got a promise of the directors of that expedition, that roome shoulde be keepd for me if the voyage went on, I went to Osnaburg, where my colonell Sir James Lumsdaine was governour. The Persian expedition was bloune up by the perfidie of the Dukes embassador, who reveald the whole plot to the Turke; for which he had his head strucke off at his return from Persia, having deservd a more ignominious death. At my arrival at Lumsdaines garrison, I found my place was disposed to ane other, which

I lookd upon as no fair play, being done contrare to promise. I was forced to stay there. Sir James goeing away, and the Imperialists prevaileing everie where, Osnaburg is blockd up by the Marques of Grana. This blocquado was coufne german to a seige; in the time wherof I came againe in employment.

Nixt summer the Sueds prevaile; old Leslie is made our fieldmarchall, (Kniphausen being killd,) and King his lieutenant generall; they beate away the Marques, who besieged us in Osnaburg, joyns with the Landgrave of Hessen, and with joyn forces beates Lamboy and some other of the Emperors generalls, who had besieged the strong toun of Hanaw two yeares, and put fresh provision in it. Heere was Sir James Ramsay governour. After this Leslie joyns with Banier, and both of them fought with the Duke of Saxe, and ane Imperiall armie at Woodstocke, where they gaid a compleate victorie.

In the yeare 1637, I went with some commanded men, with Lieutenant Generall King, into the land of Hessen, to affist the Landgrave to beate some Imperiall regiments out of his territories, who indeed were makeing havocke of all among his poore subjects. Upon our approach they retird; bot thogh we were tuo to one against them at leaft, and that Bigod, who commanded them, made a stand at Eshvegen, yet did we retire in great haste, thogh in good enough order, back to Caffels the Landgraves residence and capitall citie, and left the poor countrey to the mercy of ane enraged enemie, who had order by fire and fword to force the Landgrave to accept of the peace of Prague. Neither did Bigod spare to burn three faire tounes, Eschvegen, Olendorpe and Vitenhausen before our eyes. A mournfull sight it was, to see the whole people folow us, and climbe the tuo hie rockes which flanked us. Old

and young left their houses, by the losse of them and their goods to save their lives. Aged men and women, many above fourscore, most lame or blind, supported by their sonnes, daughters and grandchildren, who themselves carried their little ones on their backes, was a ruthfull object of pitie to any tender hearted Christian, and did shew us with what dreadfull countenance that bloodie monster of warre can appear in the world. Neither did our feare, (which often masks itself with reason of state, as then it did,) permit us to make any stay at Cassels, bot pouſd us with ſome haſte to Westphalia. As we paſd by a little toune called Brokle, where lay ane Imperiall garrison, a great many of them had fallied out, lind the hedges and annoyd the Hessich, who that day had the vant ; which when King ſaw, he commanded this Sir Edward Bret and me, with each of us fiftie musketeers, to beate them in ; which we diſ, with a great losſe to them, and of three or four of our oune men. Therafter finding no enemie in the field to oppoſe us, the Landgrave and King beſeeched the little bot indeed ſtrong toune of Vecht, in which was Lutersam, the Elector of Collens lieutenant generall. This ſiege we plyd ſo brisklie, that within eight days it yeelded on articles. From thence we runne to the ſiege of Furſtanaw, which, when we had in- vested, the Landgrave, by the tolleration, perhaps advice, of the estates of Holland, broke up with his armie and marched into Eaſt Freezland, where nixt winter he dyed. Bot his armie, under the command of Lieutenant Generall Melander, quarterd there two yeares at leaſt ; wher they made themſelves ſo ſtrong, that therwith the brave Princeſſe Emilia, Landgraves, in the minoritie of her pupill ſonne, of whom ſhe was Regent, did theſe feates in oppofition to the Emperor Ferdinand the Third, as hath made herſelfe famous to the world, and much

enlargd the territories of that protestant prince. After this separation, Lieutenant Generall King was forced to breake vp the siege, and put his little armie in guarrifon. Nixt yeare he joynd at Statlone, in the bishoprick of Munster, with Prince Palatine, and besieged Lemgo ; but the sudden approach of Count Hatfeld with ane Imperiall armie obliged them to get them gone ; bot was overtaken by him neere Vlotho, and there rather shamfullie routed then overthroune, where Prince Rupert and the Lord Craven were taken, with many brave gentlemen more. Nixt spring I fell grievoufie sicke of a tertian, which keepd me full sevanteene weekes.

It is not my purpose to relate all the great actions were done in Germanie during my aboade there, that being the subiect of ane other storie ; or yet of all the occurrences befell myselfe, that wold be tedieous ; and therfore I shall say, that haveing passd thorough the severall charges of ensigney, lieutenant, captaine lieutenant, and captaine, after I had recovered of my ague, being discontented with my colonell, one Plettemberg a Courlander, for imposeing too hard conditions of recruits on me, I tooke my leave of that service in the frontiers of Franconia, and went straight to Scotland, to look for some employment under the Prince Elector, who as I heard, by order of parliament, was to levie ten thousand men in that kingdome. Being arrivd I found indeed a parliament sitting in the yeare 1639, where E. Traquair was commisioner ; but no word of levies for Germanie, but verie great rumours of civile warrs. I stayd bot one fortnight there. At my return to Germanie nixt winter, I engadged to raise a companie of Germans vnder one Colonell Burgsdorff, who past then vnder the reputation of a brave and honest cavalier ; bot I found he was more obliged to report than he

deserved ; for he cheated me shamefullie by giveing up his capitulation, laying the blame on Felt marshall Banier having strengthened his regiment with five and forty men which I had levied on my owne charges, which could cost me no lesse than foure hundredth dollars ; so many leviers there were for severall interefts, and so knavish the sojors.

This abuse obligd me to goe to Sueden, to complaine to these who were Administrators dureing the minoritie of Queene Christina. I went in companie with Sir James Lumslaine, whose regiment I had left foure yeares before, and Colonell David Lesley, since Lord Neuarke. We shippd at Lubeck, and after a fortnights toyle at sea, we landed at Stokholme the capitall citie of that kingdome ; much beautified since with these sumptuous and magnificent palaces which the Suedish generalls have built, as monuments of these riches they acquired in the long German warre. There I saw one of the fairest castles, and of the greatest reception, of anie I ever lookd on, all coverd with copper, of which mettall that kingdome abounds. It stands on a prettie ascending hill from the sea ; and under it, for most part, rides the navie royall, composd of great and tall ships, carrying some 50, some 60, some 70, and some eightie braffe guns. The Queene was then about fourteene yeares old, applying herselfe much to learne forreine languages, and to the studie of these sciences, which by the strength of her naturall endowments she soone acquired, which has made her so famous all the world over. Her mother, a beautifull and vertuous pricess, at this same time when I was at Stokholme, stole away out of Sueden, being necessitated so to doe by the rude entertainment given her by the five Administrators ; bot within a few yeares brought backe with honor by her daughter, after she had tane the reines of the government in her

oune hands. Her coufine german, the Palsgrave Charles Gustav, since that time king, and famous enough for the short time of his raigne, was just then returned from his travells in Italie, France, England and Germanie.

I petitiond the Councell, and made my particular application to the renouned Chancellor Oxestern, who, as he had with admirable prudence and succeſſe managd the warre in Germanie after the king his masters death, with the title of Director of the Evangelicke League and Plenipotentiarie Legat for Sueden, so I found that in Sueden itſelfe, he governed all affaires of state both forreine and domeſtik. After fixe weeks staye, they offerd me a letter to Field marshall Banier, to cognofce on the difference betueene Burgſdorff and me. But knowing well enough to what litle purpose I ſould make ſo expensive and dangerous a journey to find out Banier, who in purſueance of his good fortune had enterd Bohemia, I defird my paſſe, which was granted me, and with it as much money as I suppose I had ſpent at that Court. Haveing ſignified my defire to goe to Gottenberg, and there to ſhip for Scotland, they gave me the Queens paſſe for free horſes, meate and drink by the way; a cuſtome much in uſe then, and very grievous to the poore countrey men, ſince juſtliе abrogated by a law.

I did well perceave the Administrators encouragd all my countreymen to goe home, old Generall Leflie being then to enter England with ane armie; and there is no doubt but that rebellion, whereof he was heade, was fomented by both Sueden and France; the late king in the yeare 1630, haveing made peace with Spaine, ſo much to the prejudice of the ambitious defigues of theſe tuo crounes. I was no leſſe then a fortnight in travelling to Gottemberg, thogh in August 1640; yet it is bot

fiftie Suedish leagues, each wherof we can compute to be no leſſe then ſixe English miles at leaſt. At my arriveall there, I underſtood there were two ſhips lying at Millſtrand in Norway, three Suediſh miles from Gottemberg, one ane Englishman bound for Hull, ane other a Dane bound for Leith.

I had ſwallowed without chewing, in Germanie, a very dangerous maxime, which militarie men there too much follow; which was, that ſo we ſerve our master honneſtli, it is no matter what master we ſerve; ſo, without examination of the justice of the quarrell, or regard of my duetie to either prince or countrey, I reſolved to goe with that ſhip I firſt rencounterd. After two days neceſſare ſtay at Gottenberg, I hired a boat and went away in the evening; we rowed all night, and having paſd two Suediſh caſtles, about breake of day we came neere Millſtrand. Understanding the wind blew faire for both ſhips, I was adviſd to ſtep out, and goe a foot ſtraight thorough the toune to the ſhoare, it being the neerer cut, whill the boate went a greater way about with my ſervant and coffer. I did ſo, and came just there as the Englishman was hoyſeing his ſailes. I aſkd him if he wold give me paſſage to Hull, (a place I have ſince beene too well acquainted with,) who told me he wold with all his heart, provided I wold preſentlie ſtep in. I beſeeched him to ſtay till my ſervant and coffer came, without whom I could not goe; bot no intreatie or prayer could prevaile with the inexorable ſkipper, for away he flew from me, as ane arrow from a bow. This onlie hindered me to preſent my endeavours to ſerve the King againſt the Covenanterſ. I calld instantlie for the Dane who was bound for Scotland, reſolving to ſerve either the one or the other without any reluctance of mind; ſo deeplie was that baſe maxime rooted in

my heart. The people pointed with their fingers to the ship, which had got a great way out from the shoare, and stayd there for a passenger whom the skipper had promisid to carry to Edinburgh. He was ane old man, who at taking his farewell of his friends the night before, had drunke so much that he had sleepd his time. Immediatlie I clapd in fresh men in my boate, the others being overwearied with rowing, and so came to the ship ; neither did the skipper make any scruple to reffave me, thogh at first he conceaved his old man was in my companie. To the neglect of this old man, nixt to all ruleing providence, may I attribute my goeing at that time to Scotland. On the sixth day after my embarkeing, we faw ourselvs not farre from Aberdeene. I was glad we were so farre north, because I had heard the kings ships were in the firth ; bot I was mistaken, for they were gone ; and no matter they had been gone sooner, for any good service they did the king there. The skipper set me ashore at a place called the Cove, from thence I hired horses to Edinburgh. This was in the month of September ; and Generall Leflie haveing marchd into England, with a numerous armie at the Lambes before, and put my Lord Conway with some of the kings forces to a shamefull retreat at Newburne, had made himself master of Newcastle, and all the Bishoprick of Durham. I found this succeſſe had elevated the minds of my countreymen in generall to ſuch a height of vanitie, that moſt of them thought, and many ſaid, they ſould quicklie make a full conqueſt of England ; bot tyme hath ſhoune them ſince that they made their reckoning without their host, for the very contrare fell out.

After a ſhort ſtay at Edinburgh, I rode ſtraight to Newcastle, where I found all offices and charges of the armie filld up except one, which

was the majors place of my Lord Kirkkubrights regiment, which consisted of the men of Galloway, a place and a people fatall to me. The Earle of Rothes, father to this lord chancellor, professing very great kindnes to me, easilie persuaded the generall to bestow that charge on me ; who otherwise bore me bot little good will, for some differences had beene betweene his brother and me in Germanie, where I accusd him of eleven points of treason ; bot the controversie betweene him and me was decided by a canon bullet, which tooke away his heade. In that charge I continued ten months in England, a cessation of armes being everie month renewed betweene the Royalists and Covenanters.

The blacke Parliament of England having strucke of Straffords loyall heade, imprisond the Archbischop of Canterburrie, and frighted all the statsmen and courtiers who might oppose them beyond feas, they got the king to passe the bill for trienniall parliaments, and ane other for the present one to fit as long as it pleased. They had no more use for the Scots armie, and therfore after haveing given a brotherlie present of three hundred thousand pounds sterline, (a very kind and loveing compliment,) they sent them home to their oun countrey richer, I suppose, then when they came out of it. All this while I did not take the Nationall Covenant, not because I refused to doe it, for I wold have made no bones to take, sueare and signe it, and observe it too ; for I had then a principle, haveing not yet studied a better one, that I wrongd not my conscience in doeing any thing I was commanded to doe by these whom I served. Bot the truth is, it was never offerd to me ; everie one thinking it was impossible I could get into any charge, unles I had taken the Covenant either in Scotland or England.

The king, in his passing to Scotland, had viewd the Scots armie as

it lay quarterd in the Bishoprick and Northumberland. When we came home all were disbanded, except three regiments which had not at all beeene in England. One was under Major Generall Monro, the second under Colonell Cochran, both which were quarterd neere Edinburgh. The third, consisting of fixe companies of Orkney and Cathnes men, was under my Lord Sinclar, and lay at Aberdeene. The Parliament of Scotland wold needs fit before the king came, for such was their pleasure ; and when he came, it did what it pleased ; my lord Argile, at that time created Marques, carrying all before him. He got a creature of his oun, and of his oun name, to be chancelor, to the disparagement of a farre honester man, the Earle of Morton, Argiles oun father in law and benefactor. Heere the king gave way to his parliament to dispose of all offices of state, and of his forts, castles and militia, all of them undoubted prerogatives of the Croune. Ane act of oblivion wold not serve this parliament, for their takeing armes against the king ; it must be ane act of justification, which passd with the kings consent. Presbyterian government is heere established, and Episcopacie abrogated by law ; the king out of his goodnes granting all they desired, thinking thereby to gaine them ; and indeed it was his constant fate and practice to impouer his enemies to doe him more and more mischiefe. This he felt before tuo yeaeres went about ; and even then he might have seene their wickednes, when they wounded his honor irreparablie, by makeing the people beleeve he intended either to put Marques Hamilton and Argile aboord one of his ships, and send them prisoners to England, or to assasinate them in his palace of Halyroodhouse ; which horrible calumnie these tuo lords seconded, by their counterfeit flight out of Edinburgh to Kinneil.

In the latter end of October 1641, came the lamentable news of the execrable rebellion of Ireland, in which so many thousands of innocent Protestants, both Scots and English, men and women, young and old; were put to cruell deaths by the barbarous and savage Irish. The parliament of England sent over present succours; that of Scotland offers ten regiments of foot, each consisting of one thousand men; to maintaine the Protestant interest in Ireland, bot to be entertaind by England. The proffer is accepted, and old Leslie, newly created Earl of Leven, for his successfull rebellion against the king, is appointed to be generall of these 10,000 men, against the rebels in Ireland, who (had they not shed so much blood,) did no more against his majestie, then Leven himselfe had done.

Monro and Cochran ar ordaind in the spring to goe over to Craigfergus with their regiments; the first hath a commission to be governour of the toune and castle of Craigfergus, and major generall of the ten regiments; the seconnd is casheerd for offering to be loyall. My Lord Sinclars fixe companies are reducd to foure, and they orderd to go over with Monro, till my lord raised fixe more to make up his regiment compleate. The other seven regiments were to be transported so soone as they were levied. A litle before the report of the rebellion came to Scotland, my Lord Sinclars major dyed, whose place my lord was pleased to bestow on me; a favour (in regard he had then choyce of a hundredth more sufficient) I can never either remember or mention bot with much thankfullnes. His brother was his lieutenant colonell, with whom I stayd at Aberdeene some part of that winter, and touards the spring marchd southwards. I found Generall Leven dissatisfied with my Lord Sinclars election of me, pretending his consent sould have

been fought ; bot if it had, I am sure it had never been got, for that Excellence of his was constantlie my very heavie friend. We came to the west countrie in 1642, and lay at Irwine, Aire, and Kilmar-nock more than a fortnight, waiteing for a faire wind ; which makeing a show to offer it selfe, Monro embarked at the Largs, Home (who had got Cochrans regiment) at Aire, and we at Irwine. When we were at sea the wind turnd contrarie, and so all of us met at Lamlash, a se- cure bay on the coast of the Ile of Arran, where we lay a fort-night, if I remember right ; and then the wind againe offering to be favorable, one of the kings ships which was with us shooting a warn-ing peece, all weighd anchor, hoyfd saile in ane evening, and nixt day were in Craigfergus loch, and landed that night. The English forces that were there, under the Lords Conway and Chichester, marchd to Bellfast, leaving Craigfergus free for us. These tuo regiments, with those of the tuo Vicounts of Clandeboy and Aird, and the tuo Colonell Steuarts further north, with some few others which afterwards were called, for distinction, the British forces, had preservd all that tract of Ulster which is neerefest the sea from destruction ; for the wild Irish did not onlie massacre all whom they could overmaster, but burnt tounes, villages, castles, churches, and all habitable houses, endeavouring to re-duce, as farre as their power could reach, all to a confufed chaos.

After we had refreshed a little, Major Generall Monro left seven or eight hundredth men in Craigfergus, and went to the field with the rest, among whom was my lieutenant colonell and I ; my Lord Conway went along also with neere two thousand English. In the woods of Kil-warning we renountered some hundredths of the rebels, who after a short dispute fled. These who were taken got bot bad quarter, being

all shot dead. This was too much used by both English and Scots all along in that warre ; a thing inhumane and disfavouable, for the crueltie of one enemie cannot excuse the inhumanitie of ane other. And heerin also their revenge overmasterd their discretion, which sould have taught them to save the lives of these they tooke, that the rebels might doe the like to their prisoners. Then we marchd straight to the Neurie, where the Irish had easilie seizd on his Majesties castle, wherin they found abundance of ammunition, which gave them confidence to proclaime their rebellion. The fortification of the toune being bot begunne, it came immediateli in our hands ; bot the rebels that were in the castle keepd it tuo days, and then deliverd it up upon a very ill made accord, or a very ill keepd one ; for the nixt day most of them, with many merchands and tradesmen of the toune, who had not beene in the castle, were carried to the bridge and butcherd to death, some by shooting, some by hanging, and some by drowning, without any legall proceffe ; and I was verilie informed afterwards, that severall innocent people sufferd. Monro did not at all excuse himselfe from having acceffion to that carnage, nor coulde he purge himselfe of it ; thogh my Lord Conway, as Marshall of Ireland, was the principall actor. Our sojors (who sometimes are cruell, for no other reason bot because mans wicked nature leads him to be so, as I have shoune in my Discourse of Crueltie) seeing such prankes playd by authoritie at the bridge, thought they might doe as much any where els ; and so runne upon a hundredth and fiftie women or thereby, whom they resolvd to massacre by killing and drowning ; which villanie the sea seemd to favour, it being then flood. Just at that time was I speaking with Monro, bot seeing a fare off what a

game these godles rogues intended to play, I got a horseback and gallop'd to them with my pistoll in my hand ; bot before I got at them they had dispatchd about a dozen ; the rest I savd.

This execution had not the successe which Conway and Monro had promis'd themselves ; for instead of terrifieing the rebels from their wonted cruelties, it enraged them, and occasioned the murthering of some hundredths of prisoners whom they had in their pouer. Sir Phelomey Oneale, the ringleader of the rebellion, hearing of the losse of the Neurie, in a beastlie furie burnt the tounie of Armagh, where he then was, and as much of the Cathedrall as fire could prevaile over, and then retird himselfe to the woods and bogs. This gentleman was not the plotter of this rebellion ; that was done by men of soberer heads and deeper judgments ; but he was the grand instrument, and appeared first in armes, most treacherouslie pretending his Majesties commission for what he did, (wherof the rebels in England and Scotland made good use.) He had counterfeited a warrand under the kings hand, and to the false parchment annexed his Majesties great seale, which was hanging at his great charter, as he confessed afterwards to many persones of qualitie yet alive, and left it on record at his death ; to which he was deservedlie put, by hanging and drawing and quartering, at Dubline, by rebels as wicked as himselfe, bot upon ane other account ; for it was Cromwells partie that executed him.

My Lord Conway and Monro plunderd the Neurie, except a very few houses ; most of the men that were left alive, Conway forced to carry armes under his oun regiment. This being done, Monro orders the tounie and castle to be guarrifoned by my Lord Sinclars regiment, wherof onlie two hundredth were there with the lieutenant colonell

and myselfe. We complaind, as we had good reason, to be left in a place which our oun people had made destitute of all things, bot in vaine. My lieutenant colonell stayd at the Neurie, haveing got two hundredth commanded men added to his oun, till I should bring up from Craigfergus as many of the regiment as were comd from Scotland. Accordingly I went thither with the armie ; we tooke our march thorough the woodes and mountaines of Morne, where severall rebels were killd, and many cows taken. I do remember that there we sufferd one of the most stormie and tempestuous nights for haile, raine, cold, and excessive wind, (thogh it was in the beginning of May) that ever I yet saw. All the tents were in a trice bloune over. It was not possible for any matche to keepe fire, or any foyor to handle his musket, or yet to stand ; yea severalls of them dyed that night of meere cold. So that if the rebels, wherof there were 500 not farre from us, had offerd to beate up our quarters with such weapons as they had, which were halfe pikes, fuords and daggers, which they call skeens, they wold undoubtedly have had a cheap market of us. Our foyors, and some of our officers too, (who suppose that no thing that is more then ordinarie can be the product of nature,) attributed this hurrikan to the devilish skill of some Irish witches ; and if that was true, then I am sure their master gave us good proofe that he was reallie prince of the aire.

I found about 500 of my Lord Sinclars regiment latelie arrivd at Craigfergus ; these I shippd, and haveing obtained some wheate from the Major Generall, bot verie sparinglie, and some leade, wherof we had none at the Neurie, I went aboord ; and the wind being faire, nixt morning I cast anchor at Carlingford, where I found that man of warre who

had convoyd us out of Scotland. In the afternoone, I marchd in to the Neurie ; pitifull quarters we had, and when the rest of the regiment came over, which that summer they did, we found we had not houses for the halfe of them ; for we were necessitated to take down a great many houses, to make the circumference of our walls the leſſe. Our own preservation taught us to worke allmoſt day and night, till we had finiſhd the irregular fortification begunne by the rebells. This great fatigue and toile, a very ſpare dyet, lying on the ground, little ſleepe, conſtant watching, Sir Phelemy being for moſt part allways within a days march of us, all theſe, I ſay, added to the change of the aire, made moſt or rather indeed all our officers and ſoſors fall ſeike of Iriſh agues, flixes, and other diſeases, of which very many dyed. Theſe who recoverd, being inured to hardship and well traingd, became excellent ſoſors and good firemen.

Monro made two more caſcades that summer, in one wherof my lieutenant colonell was with him with 300 men ; in the ſecond, myſelfe with the like number. In neither of them did he any memorabla action, the rebells not dareing to face him, which made him conceave, because they did not then, that thereaſter they neither could nor would. This opinion put him in danger nixt yeare, and four years after occaſioned his totall overthrow at Blackwater. In one of theſe caſcades, he layd ſiege to Charlemont, a ſtrong caſtle, bot broke up a little too ſoone, even when there was hopes of a ſurrender.

About Lambes in this yeare, 1642, came Generall Leven over to Ireland, and with him the Earle of Eglinton, who had one of theſe ten regiments, my Lord Sinclare, and Hamilton generall of the artillerie, better known by the name of *Deare Sandie*. Great matters were ex-

pected from so famous a captain as Leven was, but he did not ansuere expectation. One cavalcade he made, in which I joyned with him with 300 men, in which I could not see what he intended, or what he proposd to himselfe. Sure I am he returnd to Craigfergus without doeing any thing. And the same game he playd over againe at his second march, except that he visited the Neurie ; for which we were but little obligd to him, being forced thereby to part with our hay, wine, beere, and breade, of which we were not very well stord. In this yeare beganne that fatall warre betweene the King and his rebellious Parliament, by which, among other bad effects, we fingered no pay the whole time I stayd in Ireland, except for three months.

The officers of this our Scots armie in Ireland finding themselves ill payd, and which was worse, not knowing in the time of the civil warre who shoulde be their paymasters, and reflecting on the successfull issue of the Nationall Covenant of Scotland, bethought themselves of makeing one also ; bot they were wise enough to give it ane other name, and therefore christened it a Mutual Assurance ; wherby upon the matter they made themselves independent of any except these who wold be their actuall and reall paymasters, with whom, for any thing I know, they met not the whole time of the warre. The Generall was very disatisfied with this bond of union, as he had reason ; and at first spoke hie language of strikeing heads of ; bot the officers sticking close one to another, made these thretes evanish in smoake. And indeed it is like, ane active generall (who could have added policie to courage, and divided them,) might have made their union appear in its oun collors, which were even these of blacke mutinie. Bot the Earle of Leven, not being able to overmaster it, got himselfe ane errand to go to Scotland,

and so gave an everlasting adieu to Ireland. The most remardeable thing he did in the time of his stay was, that he tooke 2500lb. sterline to himselfe, which the Parliament of England had sent to the officers of his armie for wagon money. And trulie this Earle, who lived till he past fourscore, was of so good a memorie, that he was never knowne to forget himselfe, nay not in his extreame age. I can not say more of his deportments in Ireland then what my Lord Viscount Moore (who was killd nixt yeare) said to tuo of my friends, and it was this ; That the Earle of Levens actions made not such a noyse in the world as these of Generall Lesley.

My Lord Sinclare stayd with his regiment in great scarsfitie at the Neurie, till the nixt yeare 1643, and then fell dangerouslie sicke ; being recoverd, he returnd to Scotland. In the time of his stay, we fingerd bot little moneys; and meale so sparinglie as feldome we could allow our sojors above a pound a day ; for this reason, whenever we had intelligence where the rebels were with their cows, either my Lieutenant Colonell or I sought them out, with a partie of three or four hundredth foot and some horse, in most of which litle expeditions we were successfull, bringing in store of cows, with the flesh and milke wherof we much refreshed the decayed bodies and fainting spirits of not onlie our sojors, bot of many of our officers also. Some losse of men sometimes we sufferd, bot feldome ; many prisoners we tooke, on whom, if we did not set them at libertie, we bestowed some maintenance, bot made them worke at our fortifications. Not one officer or sojor escaped fickenes, except the Lieutenant Colonell. About Januare 1643, I fell grievouslie sicke of ane Irish ague, which brought me to deaths doore, bot it pleaseid God I recoverd.

In May, if I remember right, of the yeare 1643, Monro tooke the field with 1800 foot and tuo or three troops of horſe. When he came to Kirriotter, seven miles from the Neurie, he wrote to my Lord Sinclair to ſend him 300 musketeers, and either his brother or me with them. Bot before this time, Owen Oneale, (who had beene Governor of Arras for the King of Spaine, and defended it gallantlie till he got honorable articles,) was comd to Ireland, and declared generall for Ulſter, as Preſton, (who had keepd out Gennep house againſt the Prince of Orange) was for Munſter. Oneale having brought ſome armes ammunition and officers from the Spanish Netherlands, had in a ſhort time reduced many of the natives to a more civill deportment, and to a prettie good understanding of militarie discipline, and at that time was not farre off with a conſiderable part of ane armie. That night Monros meſſage came to the Neurie, by my Lord Sinclars appointment I rode to him. I found him a bed, and ſhew him in what good poſture Oneale was, which, as he confeſſd, he knew not before; bot it was not in my power to diſſuade him from the opinion he had, that the Irish durſt not ſtand and looke to him. After ane houres diſcourse with him, and the drinking halfe a dozen cups of facke, I left him and returnd to the Neurie; and immediatly marchd to Armagh, where the Major Generall had appointed me to meet him, which was fixteene miles. I had cauſd everie one of my ſojors carry tuelve ſhot a peece, and had beſides on horſbacke a centner of pouder, with ball and match; for I had leaſnd of the Major Generall, that none of his men were provided with more then tuo or three ſhot; a great fault in a generall, or in any man, to have an overweening opinion of himſelfe, and to undervalue his enemie. He gave me the vaun, in regard I had gone farre. We marchd from

Armagh foure miles further into the baronie of Loughgall, a very cloſe countrey full of hedges and ditches. I had told the Major Generall, that undoubtedlie we wold find Oneale before us, and therfor defird that no horse ſould be permitted to goe before me, in regard they could doe no ſervice in that countrey, bot be ane hinderance to the foot. Yet Major Ballantine wold needs march before me ; bot at a place called Anachſhamrie, which was Generall Oneals ounе house, he was ſhamefullie chacd backe upon me, tuo of his horſmen being killd, three hurt, and the reſt exceedinglie terrified. The roade way being none of the broadeſt, and ditches on everie ſide; I was more troubled with theſe horſmen then I was with the Irish ; bot haveing made way for them as well as I could, I advanced towards the enemie, whom I could not ſee, he haveing ſhelterd himſelfe with 1500 fixd musketeers in enclosurs ditches and hedges ; yet he made me quicklie know where he was, by a ſalve of 4 or 500 ſhot he made at me, at which ſome of my men fell. I then made a ſtand, and lyned the hedges on all ſides of me, conſtantlie fireing from them, and advanceing ſtill on the hie way, thogh verie leisurlie. The bodie of Monros foot were a great deale farther behind me then either I thought, or Oneale fancyed, otherwife. I ſuppoſe he wolde have left his poſt, as advantageous as it was, and advanced on me, being five to one againſt me. The diſpute continued very hote about ane houre, and then Major Borthwick, ſince a colonell, and Captaine Drummond, ſince a lieutenant generall, came up with a great pace to my releefe, and endeaſvord to cut thorough the hedges, that they might march thorough the enclosurs. Oneale perceaveing his men beganne to looke over their ſhoulders, refolvd rather to retire then flie ; and ſo he did to Charlemont. Thither did alſo runne the moſt part of the countrey people, with neere

3000 cowes, all which we had got if we had pursued our victorie. Owens house was immediatlie plunderd and burnt, and so were many other fine houses in that right pleasant countrey.

In this skusle, I lost thretteene sojors and a fergant, all killd on the place, and about eightene I had wounded ; neither my selfe or any other officer being hurt. The Irish confesd to have losd about threescore. Monro comitted heere two faults ; first, for undervaluing his enemie ; nixt, for not pursueing him, after he had made him turne his backe ; for the disappointment he met with did so quaile him, that he immediatlie marchd back to Armagh, full foure miles : A third he added, in fending, in the very time of the fight, a partie to the right hand to looke for cowes. There being some disorder or indeed confusion among the hedges, when Oneale retird and Monro marchd backe, many followd that partie that did not belong to it ; yea, so many, among whom were some of my 300, that when we came to encampe in enclosurs at Armagh late at night, our bodie, which at best was but litle, lookd exceeding weake and wearie too, and it was well the Irish knew it not. Adjutant Generall Lesley somwhat unadvisedlie ordaind me to be commander of the guards that night, never considering in what condition I was. After I had gone the great round, I found myselfe so wearie after eight and threttie miles rideing and marching, besides the toyle of the skirmish, haveing sleepd none in 48 hours before, that I was forcd to tumble myselfe doun in my tent, recommending the guards to the Adjutant Generalls care ; which when the Major Generall did heare, he taxd the Adjutant of indiscretion, and undertooke the oversight of the guards himselfe. Nixt day our scattering parties comeing in to us, we marchd to Tandergie, where Sir James Lockheart, pursueing some of the rebels in a

wood, was mortallie shot in the bellie, wherof he dyed nixt morning. We buried him in the Neurie, in as honorable a way as we could. After Monro had given my lord Sinclare a vifite, he returnd to Craikfergus, and left us at the Neurie.

Some other marches he made that summer, in one wherof we encamped regularlie at Armagh, and fortified ourselvs ; and from thence sent men to besiege Charlemont once more, bot all to no purpose. At this leager, the Marques, now Duke of Ormond, signified by a trumpet to us the cessation he had, by his Majesties appointment, concluded with the Irish for a yeare, and required Monro, in the kings name, to observe it. Bot he refusd to accept of it, because he had no order for it from his masters of Scotland. Heere was strange worke ; a man not able to prosecute a warre, yet will not admit of a cessation. It cost us deare ; for since the king's restoration, all our arrears were payd us, by telling us we were not in the kings pay, since we refused to obey his commands ; and very justlie we were so served.

Touards the latter end of this yeare 1643, our guarrison at the Neurie fell in extreame want of all manner of provisions, both for backe and bellie. For this reasoun, by Monros toleration, I had a meeting with ane Irish colonell, one Thurlo Oneale, sent by Sir Phelomey. We met at Kirriotter, each of us tuentie horse, and after ane hours discourse, and the drinking some healths in Scotch aquavitie and Irish uskkiba, we concluded a cessation of armes with them for our oun guarrison. Bot this did not supply our wants ; for no monie came to the armie, either from England or Scotland, and very little meale came from Craigfergus to us. Wherfor my lieutenant colonell and I resolved that I sould goe speedilie to Scotland, and procure ane order to the regiment to march

to the Airds and Clandeboy, there or somewhere else to quarter as the rest of the armie did ; and that immediatlie after I was gone, and that a ship with some meale which we hourlie expected was arrivd, he sould ship in his ammunition, baggage and sicke men, and then march straight to the Clandeboy. The Neurie was to be deliverd to the English ; for I had gone to Dundalg, and agreed so with my Lord Moore. This was presentlie put in execution ; for I went to Craigfergus, and tooke my leave of the Major Generall, telling him dounright what my errand was to Scotland ; bot conceald from him the resolution, that the regiment sould be with him before my returne.

At my comeing to Scotland, in the beginning of the yeare 1644, I found the generall had marchd in the dead of winter into England, with ane armie of neere 20,000 foot and 2000 horse, to joyne by vertue of the solemne League and Covenant with the rebellious parliament of England, against our ounе soveraigne laufull and native lord and king. I followd him on post horses, and found him hide bound at Newcastle ; for he was stod there by the toune and river, so that he could not get farther south. I represented to him not onlie the condition of my Lord Sinclars regiment, bot of the whole Scots armie in Ireland so feelinglie, that he found himself obliged to relate it to the Committee of Estates, (wherof the Marquis of Argile was president, by appointment of the usurped parliament of Scotland.) I am calld before them, and to them I represented so passionatlie the miseries of that armie, that they pasd ane act for the transportation of it to Scotland, provided the Committee of Estates at Edinburgh gave their joint consent. I got likewise ane order to approve our delivering the Neurie to the English. My Lord Sinclare is appointed to goe to Ireland with that order of transporta-

tion, and to see it put in execution ; I having assurd the committee, that all the Scots armie wold be willing to leave Ireland, except perhaps the Major Generall, and a few others whose dissent, I said, wold not prove materiall.

Whill I was heere, I lookd upon the posture this armie of Scots (of which the parliament so much boasted) were in. I found the bodies of the men lustie, well clothd and well monneyd, bot raw, untraind and undisciplind ; their officers for most part young and unexperiencd. They had divided themselvs in severall bodies, and in severall quarters, everie one or any one of which might with a resolute fally been easilie beate up, and then, in my opinion, the rest would have runne. There was sixe thousand men of Neucaftles armie within the toune, and Lieut. Generall King, then Lord Eithen, with them. I admird then, nor could I wonder enough fince, that he never endeavourd to give his countrey-men a visite. He was a person of great honor ; bot what he had savd of it at Vlotho in Germanie, where he made shipwracke of much of it, he losd in England. The Scots maine care was, how to get over Tine, never careing to possesse themselves of a passe on that river for their re-treat, so much did they trust to their oun valour and succeffe. Whill I was there, they indeavord one night to bring boats from the glasse houses, or above them, to the river, and so to make a bridge. Bot fearing the Kings forces sould fall out upon them that were at worke, Argile and his committee sent over Colonell Steuart, with 1200 foot, to stand betweene the workmen and the toune. They had bot a little narrow bridge to passe in their goeing and comeing, and if 2000 had fallen stoutlie out of the toune on them, they had killd and tane them everie man, for retire they could not. Argile heareing this was my opi-

nion, which was feonded by others, askd Deare Sandie, Sir James Lumsdaine and myselfe, what was best to be done. We were unanimous that false alarums shold be given about the whole toun, to divert the enemie from fallieing too strong upon Steuart, for the tounes utter guards of horse had certified them within of his approach. I was sent with this message to the Generall, whom I found goeing to supper. When I returnd, I was ashamed to relate the answere of that old Captaine ; which was, that he feard the brightnes of the night (for it was mooneshine) wold discover the burning matches to those on the walls. I told him, the mooneshine was a prejudice to the designe, for it wold hinder the matches to be sene ; for the more lunts were seene, the better for a false alarme. However, the alarums were made in feveral places, which were taken so hotlie where I was beside the workmen, that thogh I calld often to them, it was our oun people, yet some great persons, whom I will not name, calld eagerlie for their horses, and when they were on them rode away. The work was left undone, because it was neep tide, and Steuart returnd safelie, to the great disgrace of these within. The Scots got over the river afterward, and by peecmale made Newcastle's armie almost as strong as their oun, and farre better foyors, moulder away, and the relicks of it take sanctuarie within the walls of Yorke. Such was the Kings sad fate, and the infatuated stupiditie of these under him. I have often made myselfe merrie with that nights worke, first to consider how the Committee of Estates, especiallie their president Argile, who was a good feaman, did not advert it was neep tide, before they attempted the removeall of the boats : secondlie, how they adventurrd to face a toun wherein there was sixe thousand horse and foot, with 1200 men, and no way for them to re-

treate: thirdlie, of Generall Levens impertinent ansuer to my mes-
sage; fourthlie, to see men affrayd at their oun shadow, men runne away
for ane allarme themselves had causd make; and for a farce to the play,
to heare my old Colonell Steuart, when he was returnd to his quarters,
vapour and bragge of the orderlie retreate he had made without the losse
of a man, when there was not so much as a foot boy pursueing him.

My Lord Sinclare and I went post to Scotland, where we found my
Lord Chancellour and the Committee of Estates there very averse from
that transpotation, fearing the bad consequences of it. Whill things
are a debateing, my Lord Sinclars regiment lands at Portpatrik. The
Laird of Lauiers regiment follows, and after him the Earle of Lothians;
so wold all the rest, bot they wanted shipping. The occasion was this.
After I had left Ireland, my Lieutenant-Colonell haveing ressavd some
supply of meale, shippd in tuo field peeces, his amunition, his baggage,
ficke men, and all the meale except so much as the sojors carried on their
backes, and marchd by land to the Airds, haveing deliverd the Neurie
with the castle to these were appointed to ressave it by the Marques of
Ormond, lieutenant of Ireland, as we had formeirlie agreed to doe: Up-
on this the field officers of the whole Scots armie met at Craigfergus,
and seeing no appearance of my returne, unanimouslie concluded to goe
all over to Scotland; and because they had not vessells enough for all,
sent these three regiments first away. This alarumd the Committee at
Edenburgh exceedinglie. They dispatch my Lord Sinclar west to see
the regiments well quarterd, no hurt to be done to the countrey, bot
most of all, that the Covenant ressavd no prejudice. I went post with
my Lord to Aire, where we found our regiment.

The Committee haveing well considerd the danger might ensue, if the

other seuen regiments came to Scotland; send Sir Frederick Hammilton and the Laird of Lauiers over to Ireland, with ten thousand pounds sterline, and seuen thousand futes of clothes for the foyors, and some private instructions, to conjure them to remaine in their old duellings; to which the officers consented, notwithstanding the oath of their Mutuall Assurance, which was then broke and cancelld with as much formalitie, bot with a great deal of more reason, then it was made.

Thus was I at toyle and trouble enough for the space of tuo yeares in Ireland, haveing got no more in the employmient then what maintaind me. Yet I had a purchase in it of that I value more then any worldlie riches, that was of my deare wife; Mary White, with whom I was first acquainted and then enamoured at the Neurie. She was comd of very good parents; her father being the second sonne of a knight, and her mother of ane other good familie of the Whites. She was thought by others, much more by me, to be of a good beautie. For the qualities of her mind, I have had such experiance of them as they have renderd me happy amidst all the afflictions hath befallen me since. I did not then marry her, because at that time she was tenacious of the Roman Catholick p̄ersuasion, which was verie hatefull to our leading men of Scotland; neither indeed, in the condition wherein I was then, could I maintaine her in any good fashion.

The Marques of Huntley makeing some bustling in the north, thogh to little purpose, the Committee orders my Lord Sinclars regiment to march to Stirline, and Lothians to St Jonston; that of Lauiers lay in countrey villages. I had then lookd a little more narroulie in the justice of the cause wherin I servd then formerly I used to doe, and found I had done well enough in my engadgement against the bloodie

rebells in Ireland. Bot the new Solemne League and Covenant (to which the Committee of Estates required an absolute submiffion) summond all my thoughts to a serious consultation ; the result wherof was, that it was nothing bot a treacherous and disloyall combination against laufull authoritie. Some captaines of my Lord Lothians (who were well enough principld, and had got good information of the designes of the prime covenanters from the late Lord Chancellor, E. of Glencairne,) and I communicated our thoughts one to another, and then I broke the matter first to my Lieutenant Colonell, and then to my Lord Sinclare. All of us thought it our duetie to doe the King all the service we could against his ungracious subjects ; and therefore resolvd not to take the Covenant, bot to joyne with the Marques of Montrosse, who had the Kings commission. In the meane tyme, we made faire weather with the Committee of Estates, till we got one thoufand pound, and tuo hundred sterline money for each regiment, and a fute of cloths for everie fojor. The Committee pressd much the signing of the covenant, with many letters, messages, and messengers. We wavd it with many pecious pretences ; especiallie we desird sixe weeks time to advice with our consciences, a thing they had granted to all other subiectes ; hopeing before the end of that time to be in a capacitie to speake plainer language.

Mearie while my Lieutenant Colonell and I had our severall consultations with my Lord Erskine, my Lord Napier, the Master of Napier, the Master of Mederdie, and Laird of Keir, all of them very loyall persons, with whom we concluded it was fit to send tuo, one from them and another from us, to Montrosse, who was then in the border, to invite him to come to Stirline, where he fould find castle, toun and regiment at his devotion, and St Jonston likewise. And least he might

thinke we meant not honnestlie, in regard there had been no good understanding betueene him and my Lord Sinclare formerlie, his neece the Ladie Keir sent him a well knowne token with Harie Steuart, who was the man we sent, and this he refayed. The messenger they sent was young Balloch Drummond, then very loyall, whatever he was afterward. I beleive he got not to him. Bot Montrosse haveing a litle too soone enterd Scotland, and met with a rufle neere Drumfreis, and upon it retird to England, it seems he thought it not safe with so inconsiderable troops to hazard so farre as to Sterline, perhaps not giveing full trust to our promis; and most, because the Committee had appointed a seconde levie, which then was farre advanced, under the command of the E. of Callander, who with the deepest oathes, even wishing the supper of our Lord to turne to his damnation, which he was to take nixt Sunday, if ever he shoulde engadge under these or with these Covenanters, had perswaded me in his oun house of Callander, and upon a Lords day too, that he would faithfullie serve the King;—I say, by Montrosse his neglect, and Calanders perfidie, was lost the fairest occasion that could be wishd to doe the King service. For if that levie had beene suppressd, as very soone it shoulde, and Montrosse have comd to Stirline, and joynd with our tuo regiments, as easilie he might, he wold with the assistance of Huntley in the north, and these Irish who soone after came over from Antrum, have reducd Scotland without bloodshed to their duetie and obedience, or els the Scots armie had beene forced to have left England, and marchd home to oppose us; upon whose retreat, it was more than probable most of England wold have embracd the Kings interest; the reputation of the Scots armie at that time keeping up the English parliaments interest. Bot the inauspitieous fate

and disastrous destinie of the incomparablie good King wold not have it to be so.

A litle before this, Sir George Monro, Colonell Hammilton, and some other officers of the armie in Ireland, had comd over to deale with the Committee of Estates for their oune maintenance, and E. Calander requireing an adjutant generall for his new forces from the Committee, they sought the opinion of these officers, who they thought sufficient for that employment. They were all pleasd to name me to be the man fitting for it ; upon which ane act of Committee was made, without acquainting me with it ; that I sould have that charge, and continue likewise major as I was. This offer being made to me when I expected Montroffe, and was with good reason dissatisfied with Calander, I refusd it, pretending I could not undergoe both charges. It was given to Major Douglas, a sonne of the Sheriffe of Teviotdaill, who was afterwards a colonell, and killed at Worcester fight. Notwithstanding of all this, Calander did not give over to give me all imaginable assuances that he wold act for the King, and that the greater pouer he was invested with, the more vigorouslie and vigilantlie wold he shew himselfe active and loyall for his Majestie. This put me in some hopes I might be instrumentall under him to doe the King some service. Withall, I knew I was vehementlie suspected by the Committee of Estates, and if I had denuded myselfe of all imployment, which was my greatest securitie, I had runne the hazard of imprisonment, if not worse ; for now they had declar'd the supreame pouer to be in themselves, and therfore all was acted against them must be no better then treason. Upon these grounds my Lord Sinclars regiment marchd into England, and I with them, and made a fashion (for indeed it was

no better) to take the Covenant, that under pretence of the Covenant we might ruine the Covenanters; a thing, (thogh too much practisid in a corrupt world) yet in itselife dishonest, sinfull and disavoueable; for it is certaine that no evill shoule be done that good may come of it; neither did any good at all come of this, for Calander all along provd true to his own interest and gaine, and false to the Kings, never laying hold on any opportunitie whereby he might, with small difficultie, have done his Majestie signall service. After he enterd England, I wold have undertaken to have made most of his new levied forces, which were about 5000, declare for the King, and forced these who wold not to fly from the armie. Upon this Northumberland and Bishopricke (whose gentrie was still loyall,) wold have risen with us; and thogh shortlie after that Prince Rupert was beaten at Longmeston mure, yet he haveing brought away neere 4000 horse with him, we wold have beene able to have made him up a gallant armie. Bot *non volueret fata*.

Having crosid Tyne at Neuburne, Calander invests Neuastle on the other side of the river; haveing first got assuraceance that the Prince was defeated at Long Meston by Generalls Leven, Manchester and old Fairfax, all which three had shamefullie left the field and fled; but Leven fled furtheſt, for he did not draw bridle till he was at Wedderbie, four and twentie miles from the place of battell. There was reason he shoule take the start of the other tuo, because he had furtheſt home. Calander lys doune before Hertipole, a very tenable little sea toune, wherin was a garrison of 300 men for the King, and had it unworthilie yeelded to him without stroake of fuard by Sir Edmund Carew; and Stokton Castle likewife, before which not one man of ours had appeared, for which he was afterward questiond.

A little before harvest in this yeare 1644, Leven came with all his armie and beseegd Newcastle on Northumberland fide; which was well enough defended eight or nine weeks by Sir Johne Morley, mayor of the toune; bot at length he haveing foolishlie refused articles, which he might have made at his pleasure, the toune was taken by storme, with no great losse on our fide, and with very little bloodshed of the royalists. My Lord Sinclars regiment were the first that enterd the toune, the first partie of them of two hundred being led by my selfe, being very well seconded by my Lieutenant Colonell. One of my Captains, Sinclare, foolishlie running contrar to my command straight to the market place, was ther killd. It was well for these of that fide within the toune that we enterd so soone, for we gave very good quarter, my Lieutenant Colonell and I clearing the wall all along till the nixt port; there we tooke tuentie gentlemen on horseback, and 200 foot fojors, and so made easie way for my Lord Levistons, now E. of Lithgows brigade, and Lieutenant Generall Baillies to enter, being before pitifullie beate of; neither did we kill one man within the walls. In the approches our regiment lost very prettie men, bot in the storme onlie three. Immediatlie after the plunder of this toune, (wherof I had not one pennie worth) the armie is put in winter quarters. Whill we besiege Newcastle, Calander is sent with some regiments to Scotland to oppose Montrosse, who, with a handfull of Irish very ill armed, had beaten the Lord Elcho and his armie at Tippermure. Calander stayd not long, neither had the leaders of the Covenanters better lucke than Elcho, for beaten they were by Montrosse at Aberdeene, and the third time at Innerlochie, where Argile savd himselfe foone enough.

Nixt summer of the yeare 1645, Montrose did these feats which hath

renderd his name immortall. Against him were severall regiments sent the second time from the armie in England. With the rest Leven marcheth southward ; and at Nottinghame, some well meaning officers of the armie made a motion to present a petition to the King, according to the laudable custome of both the first and the second Covenanters, before we enterd in any act of hostilitie against him. This had given a stop to the advance of our armie, which the English royalists so much feared. I was desird to draw the petition, which after some refuseall, (apprehending Calanders jugling,) I at length did. Bot he not onlie refusd to signe it himselfe, but to let the Committee see it, (without whom it could not be sent to the King) thogh never so many officers wold subscrive it. And so these honest officers were deceavd and abusd, as I had fortold them. On our march to Gloucestershire, we had the sad news of the Kings overthrow at Nasebie, after which never any of his forces made a stand. Whill the Scots army invests Hereford, news comes that Montrofse had gaind the battell of Killfyth, so entirelie that all the covenanting Lords were fled to Berwick. Lieutenant Generall Lesley upon this is sent away to Scotland, with most of the cavallerie, to oppose succeſſfull Montrofse, whom he had the good fortune, as he thought it, to beate at Philiphauch ; where Major Generall Middleton, now Earle, was very active against, thogh sincē very active for the King. After some weeks stay at the seige of Hereford, upon a rumour of the Kings approach with some forces, we broke up and marchd north, and that harvest quarterd in Yorkshire; and in the beginning of winter, helpd the English forces to blocke up Neuarke on Trent, from whence a litle before his Majestie was gone with 500 horse to Oxford. Heere old Generall Leven left us and went to Neu-

castle, forcd therto by order of the Parliament of Scotland. I am very sure, fore against his will he parted with a command wherby he could have put abundance of money in his pocket, which Lieutenant Generall David Lesley could not choose bot doe. We past that winter with very much cold, bot very litle bloodshed ; bot so did they not at St Andreus, where the pretended parliament dyed some scaffolds very red, with the loyall blood of many of his Majesties faithfull subjects.

In the summer of the yeare 1646, the Kings fate driveing him on to his neere approaching end, he cast himself in the Scots armes at Neuarke. There did E. Lothian, as presidint of the Committee, to his eternall reproach, imperiouſlie require his Majestie (before he had either drunke, refreshd, or reposed himself,) to command my Lord Bellafis to deliver up Neuarke to the Parliaments forces, to figne the Covenant, to order the establishment of presbiterian government in England and Ireland, and to command James Grahame, (for so he called Great Montroſſe) to lay doune armes ; all which the King stoutlie refused ; telling him that he who had made him ane Earle had made James Grahame a Marques. Barbarouſlie used he was, ſtrong guards put upon him, and centinells at all his windows, that he ſould caſt over no letters ; and at length Neuarke by his order being given up, he is carried with a very ſpeedie march to Neucaſtle, where he was well enough guarded. At Sherburne I ſpoke with him, and his Majestie haveing got ſome good carater of me, bade me tell him the fence of our armie concerning him. I did ſo, and withall affurd him he was a priſoner, and therefor prayd him to think of his eſcape, offering him all the ſervice I could doe him. He ſeemd to be well-

pleased with my freedome, and the griefe I had for his condition ; bot our converstion was interrupted very uncivillie (for I was in the roome alone with his Majestie) by Lieutenant Generall Lesleys command, wherin he made use of tuo whom I will not name, because the one is dead, and I hope the other hath repented ; neither was I ever permitted afterward to speake with him ; yet he namd me, as one of five fitting to carry his commands to Montrosse, bot the Committee made choyce of a man by Lothians persuasion, fitter for their purpose. Most of that winter, till neere Candlemas, was spent in quarters, which were allotted us in some places of Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland all over ; meane time goes Argile to London.

When I perceavd things in this troublesome condition, not knouing what might be the issue, whether I might not be necessitated to fly beyond seas, (for the Committee and Generall entertaind very ill thoughts of me,) and not dareing to goe to Irland, least they sould thinke I went about more serious affaires, I sent and desird her who was to be my wife, to be at the trouble to come to England to me, which she willinglie did. This both fliew her affection to me, and the trust she reposed in mine ; leaveing her parents, her friends, countrey and all that was deare to her, upon my word. And indeed she found me but in a bad condition, and it was well it was no worse ; for haveing drunke at one time too much at parting with a great person, rideing home I met one Colonell Wren, betueene whom and me there was some animositie. He was a foot, and I lighted from my horse ; drinke prevailing over my reason, I forced him to draw his fuord, which was tuo great handfuls longer then mine. This I perceiving, gripd his fuord with my left hand, and thrust at him with my right ; bot he stepping

backe avoyded it, and drew his fuord away, which left so deepe a wound betueene my thumbe and formost finger, that I had almost losd the use of both, unles I had beene well cured. Ane other hurt I got in my left arme. The passengers parted us ; bot I could never find him out after, to be revengd on him, though I fought him farre and neere. This was ane effect of drinking, which I confesse, beside the sinne against God, hath brought me in many inconveniences. This was the first time ever my blood was draune, though I have hazarded it and my life very often, not onlie in battells, skirmishes, rencounters, sieges, fallies, and other publick dueties of service, bot also in severall private duells. I was not well recoverd, when she I lovd best came to England. Shortlie after, we were married at Hexame, in presence of ane honourable companie, on the tenth of November, 1646. Many sad stroms and blafts of adverſitie hath she patientlie stood out with me since, and both of us have reaſon to bleſſe our good God, who hath graciously deliuerd us out of them all.

In Februare 1647, the Committee haveing receaved 200,000lb. fter-line, for the arrears of the armie (for so it was calld), the King is shamefullie deliverd over to the Commissioners of the two Houfes of England, and that by a vote too of the Parliament of Scotland, to the eternall disgrace of the whole nation. He is first carried to Holmbie Houſe ; and after the armie had chacd the eleven Presbyterian members of the Houſe of Commons beyond feas, they take his Majestie to Hampton Court, and after many jugling tricks of Cromwell, he is carried to Ca-riſbrok Caſtle in the Isle of Wight, out of which he never came till he was led to his arraignment. The Scotch armie marcheth to Scotland and is modelled in ſeven regiments of foot, thretteene troops of horſe, and

three companies of dragoons. All the rest are disbanded. My Lord Sinclars regiment is orderd to goe backe to Ireland. They - - - - by the way at Peebles, and some runne away. Quarters are appointed for them, and E. Lothians regiment in Galloway, till I went over to Ireland, to try whether Monro and his officers (for that armie was then governd by a councell of officers, wherof the Major Generall was president,) wold make us welcome or not, I found the coast guarded with sojors to barre our landing, which I lookd on as a bad omen. At my comeing to Craigfergus, the officers are calld together. I deliverd them a letter from the Scots Parliament, and endeavord to persuade them to ressave us as antient members of their bodie ; telling them that we were to bring such provisions with us, that we shoul not be burthen-some to them. Bot I harangud them in vaine, for I found, thogh they wold not speake it dounright, they wold not admit us at all ; for thogh they had beene well beate by Owen Oneale the yeare before, yet they fancyed they shoul then receave ten thousand pounds sterline for everie regiment, and they thought if our tuo regiments joyned with them, we might occasion a diminution of the soume. Upon my returne, and the burthen Galloway had of us, order comes to us from the Committee of Estates, to disband, which was accordinglie done. This was the end of my Lord Sinclars regiment, which indeed was composed of prettie men, stout and loyall, both officers and sojors, to which I had beene serjeant major full five yeares.

Shortlie after, Lieutenant Generall Lesley having reduced the North to the obedience of the Committee of Estates, by takeing all Huntleys houses, and chaceing himselfe and his party to their hieland shelters, marched south, being to goe into Kintire. I met him at Dumblaine,

where he, the late Marques of Argile, and Major Generall Holburne, easilie perswaded me to accept of the Adjutant Generalls place of the armie, then vacant; for indeed I thought it duetie to fight against these men who first had diserted their Generall Montrosse, as E. Aboine and Sir Alaster Macdonald had done when he stood most in need of them, which mainlie had occasiond his irreparable losse at Philipshauch; and nixt had absolutlie refusd to lay down armes at the Kings oun command, carried to them by Sir James Lesley. I was necessitated to stay for some baggage a day or tuo, and therafter met the armie at Inverraray, Argiles chiefe houſe. From thence we marchd to Kintire, which is a peninſull. Both before and at the entrie to it, there were ſuch advantages of ground, that our foot, for mountains and marshes, could never have draune up one hundredth in a bodie, nor our horſe above three in breaſt; which if Sir Alaster had prepoſteſt with theſe thouſand or 1200 brave foot which he had with him, I think he might have routed us, at leaſt we ſould not have enterd Kintire bot by a miracle. Bot he was ordaind for deſtruction; for by a ſpeadie march we made ouरſelves masters of theſe diſſicell paſſes, and got into a plaine country, where no ſooner he ſaw our horſe advance, but with little or no fighting he retiſt; and if the Lieutenant Generals foot had been with him to have given the enemie a ſalve or tuo, which would have diſorderd him, I beleeve none of them had escaped from our horſe. Alaster, like a foole, (for no ſoſor he was, though ſtout enough,) put in 300 of his beſt men in a houſe on the top of a hill, calld Dunavertie, envi‐roned with a ſtone wall, where there was not a drop of water but what fell from the clouds. Then leaveing Kintire he went to Yla, where he playd juſt ſuch ane other mad prank, leaveing his old father, commonlie

called Coll Kettoch, with neere 200 men in a castle, called Dunneveg, where was no water either bot what the heavens afforded. The rest of his men he carried with him to Ireland, (ane excellent Generall Major) where he was killd in a battell fought by those with whom he joynd against my Lord Taffe, now Earle of Carlingford. We befeegd Dunavertie, which keepd out well enough, till we stormd a trench they had at the foot of the hill, wherby they commanded tuo stripes of water. This we did take in the assault. Fortie of them were put to the fuord. We losd five or fixe, with Argiles Major. After this, inexorable thirst made them desire a parley. I was orderd to speake with them; neither could the Lieutenant Generall be movd to grant any other conditions, then that they sould yeeld on discretion or mercy; and it seemd strange to me to heare the Lieutenant Generalls nice distinction, that they sould yeeld themselfs to the kingdomes mercy, and not to his. At length they did so; and after they were comd out of the Castle, they were put to the fuord, everie mothers sonne, except one young man, Mackoull, whose life I begd, to be sent to France with a hundreth countrey fellows whom we had smoakd out of a cave, as they doe foxes, who were given to Captaine Cambell, the Chancellors brother.

Heere it will be fit to make a stop till this cruell action be canvasd. Firſt, the Lieutenant Generall was tuo days irrefolute what to doe. The Marques of Argile was accusd, at his arraignment, of this murther, and I was examind as a witnes. I depond, that which was true, that I never heard him advice the Lieutenant Generall to it. What he did in private I know not. Secondlie, Argile was bot a Colonell there, and so had no pouer to doe it of himselfe. Thirdlie, thogh he had advisd him to it, it was no capitall crime; for councell is no com-

mand: Fourthlie, I have feveral times spoke to the Lieutenant Generall to fave these mens lives, and he allways assented to it ; and I know of himselfe he was unwilling to fhed their blood. Fifthlie, Mr Johne Nave (who was appointed by the commission of the kirke to waite on him as his chaplaine,) never ceasd to tempt him to that bloodshed ; yea and threatened him with the curses befall Saull for spareing the Amalekites, for with them his theologie taught him to compare the Dunavertie men. And I verilie beleeve that this prevaild most with David Lesley, who lookd upon Nave as the representative of the Kirk of Scotland. Lastlie, there is no doubt bot the Lieutenant Generall might legallie enough, without the leaft transgrefſſion of either the custome, practise, or law of warre, or his ounē commission, have usd them as he did ; for he was bound by no article to them, they haveing submitted themſelvs abſolutlie to his discretion. It is true, on the other hand, *summum jus, summa injuria* ; and in ſuſh caſes, mercy is the more chriftian, the more honourable, and the more ordinarie way in oure warres in Europe. Bot I reallie beleeve, aduife him to that act who will, he hath repented it many times ſince, and even very foone after the doeing it.

From Kintire we went by ſea to Yla, and immediatlie invested Dunneveg. I muſt remember, by the way, that we carried bot about fourſcore horſes with us after we left Kintire, the reſt of the troopes being left in Lorne, under the command of Colonell Robert Montgoſerie, ſince Generall Major, who blockd up the house of be- longing to Mackoull in Lorne, whose clan was, as I ſaid, extirpated very neere at Dunavertie. Dunnaveg, after a ſtout reſiſtance, for want of water, came to a parley. I am appointed to treate with one Captaine

Oneale and one Donald Gorum, who came out of the house on the Lieutenant Generalls word. Life was promisid to them ; all the officers to goe where they pleased ; the sojors to be transported to France, and given to Henry Sinclare my old Lieutenant Colonell. The articles I saw couchd in writeing and signd by both Argile and Lefley. This capitulation was faithfullie observed. A litle skurvie ile in the end of Yla was keepd by a bastard sonne of Coll Kittoch, which we left to its fortune. Bot before we were masters of Dunneveg, the old man Coll, comeing foolishlie out of the house, where he was governour, on some parole or other, to speake with his old friend the Captaine of Dunstaffage Castle, was surprisid and made prisoner, not without some staine to the Lieutenant Generalls honor. He was afterwards hangd by a jury of Argiles sherrif depute, one George Cambell, from whose sentence few are faid to have escapd that kind of death.

From Yla we boated over to Jura, a horridie ile, and a habitation fit for deere and wild beasts ; and so from ile to ile till we came to Mull, which is one of the best of the Hebrides. Heere Maclaine fawd his lands with the losse of his reputation, if ever he was capable to have any. He gave up his strong castles to Lefley, gave his eldest sonne for hostage of his fidelitie, and, which was unchristian basenes in the lowest degree, he deliverd up fourteene very prettie Irishmen, who had beene all along faithfull to him, to the Lieutenant Generall, who immediatlie causd hang them all. It was not well done to demand them from Macklaine, bot inexcusablie ill done of him to betray them. Heere I cannot forget one Sir Donald Cambell, a very old man, fleshd in blood from his very infancie, who with all imaginable violence pref'd that all the whole clan of Macklaine sould be put to the edge of the fword ; nor

wold he be commanded to forbear his bloody sute by the Lieutenant Generall and the tuo Generall Majors, and with some difficultie was he commanded silence by his chiefe the Marques of Argile. For my part I said nothing, for indeed I did not care thogh he had prevaild in his sute, the deliverie of the Irish had so much irritated me against the whole name. As we were goeing to Mull, Major Generall, fince E. Middlestone, (who had with tuo regiments of foot and some troops of horse ruind the relicks of Huntleys partie,) came to us. With him I had some conferences concerning the Kings condition, who at that time was at Hampton Court. Then first I found he beganne in earnest to oun his Majesties interest. Great jealoufies there were then of all parties both in England and Scotland. Argile and Leslie thought fit to separate me from Middlestone, and so sent me to Edinburgh to give the Estates ane account of our successes, and to desire quarters to be provided for the armie against our descent to the low countrey. Thither I went, and after Leslie had taken in ane old castle in Knoggard or Moggart, I know not which, I met him on his march to Stirline, ten miles on the other fide of that toun, bringing with me the quarters ordered for the severall regiments and troopes ; which being divided, every one went straight to his oun.

The Committee of Estates, and consequentlie the visible soveraigne pouer of Scotland at that time, is divided between the Duke Hammilton and the Marques of Argile. The last keepd stronglie by the church, and had it for him ; and for feare that did not his turne, he keepd the armie, at least Leven and David Leslie for him, as knowing, *omnia sunt gladii pedissequa*. Yet the Hammiltons had gaind much on Middleton, who had a strong influence on the armie. Hammilton, to beate Argile out of his strongest fortresse, propounes the dif-

banding the armie as very useles now, and which was worse, very burthensome, all the enemies of the state being rangd to their duetie. This was not onlie a plausible pretext, bot ane unansuerable argument; bot marke the reply of the other partie. "Never so great danger as now; the Kings person, which they were bound to defend by the oath of their Covenant (observe, there was no former ty on them,) being in the hands of the Independents, who were suorne enemies to his sacred person and to presbiterie, and carying now all things before them in the English Parliament, were become very formidable." So impudentlie could these hipocrites make use of the safetie of the King, to support their power, by the usurpation wheroft they had brought him to that low condition, and whose destruction they still designd. To this they adde a ridiculous palpable ly, that the Marques of Huntley was strong and marching southward, waxd numerous, and to use their oune words, grew great like a fnow ball; that poore Marques, in the meane time, hideing himselfe in holes and caves, out of which he is about that same time draune, and carried to Edinburgh and cast in the tollbooth, out of which he never came till he was brought to a scaffold. The matter of the armies disbanding is referd to the meeting of a great Committee, whose members are summond by Argile and the kirk to come from the remotest places of the kingdome, and when they meet, they vote the armie to stand. By this favour they obliged many officers, to easē the kingdome forsooth, to quite a third part of their pay voluntarilie; for which simplicitie the kirk cryd them up for good patriots; and this was enough to put these simpletons in the full possestion of a fools paradise.

Bot before all this was done, E. Lainrick, brother to Duke Hamil-

ton is made one of these commissioners which they called the Committee of both kingdomes. The Chanclor and he went to London, and from thence, by the Parliaments permission, to the Ile of Wight, where they had severall conferences with his Majestie. Many concessions they obtaind from him against Poperie, Arminianisme, Socinianisme, Libertinisme, Eraftianisme, and I know not what els, and many promises they made to him, and so returnd to Scotland. A Parliament is calld, which either consisted of the royall or purlie Hammiltonian partie; Argiles being the leaft of the three, the election of the members was so dexterouslie carried. Bot in the Commission of the Kirke, Argile carryd all before him. And now the scene is changd. The King is in no danger; the Parliament of England, thogh independent, and Scotland are good friends; they must not fall out; the union of the tuo kingdomes must be preserved; the King in his concessions had not taken away Prelacie, and therfore all the rest of his grants were hipocriticall; neither were the Scots bound to defend his person by vertue of the Covenant, bot in the defence of the true religion, which, according to their glosse, is presbiterall government; and therfor no armie must be raisd for his releasment or restoration, onlie the English Parliament wold be desird to suffer them to treate with the King, whose person, according to promise, sould be keepd in honor, freedome and safetie. Heere yow see ane armie necessare and not necessare, for one and the same cause. Yow will thinke that strange, bot I will unriddle yow. Necessare for the Kings defence, and to withstand the power of the Independents, so long as old Leven, and David Leflie commanded it; not necessare for these or any other causes, if Duke Hamilton and Earle Calander had the conduct of it. Whether the great soumes of money the English Commissioners brought

with them, had ane influence on the leading men of the state, the kirk and the armie, Sir James Stewart, once Provost of Edinburgh, yet alive, can well enough tell. This rent betweene the usurped state and the usurped kirk, was the first step to the ruine of the whole designe of the yeare 1648 ; for in the time of this furious dif our levies were retarded, and time given to Fairfax and Cromwell to destroy all the Kings partie in England. At length the raisng of ane armie is carried in spite of Argile and the kirk. Duke Hammilton is declarld Generall ; E. Calander, (who once more appeard to oune the Kings interest,) Lieutenant Generall of the armie ; Middleton Lieutenant Generall of the horse, and Baillie of the foot.

Bot before this was done, a petition is draune up by Argile and his friends, (the Chancellor playing fast and loose with both parties,) which is calld the petition of the armie, which was to secure religion (for these were the kirks words) and the kingdome of Christ, before any forces were raised for the Kings releasment. It is signd privatlie by Leven, Da. Leslie, Major Generall Holburne, Sir Johne Broun, Colonell Scot and some others, and then presented publiklie to the rest of us, thinking we could not, being sojors, refuse to follow our leaders. Bot they found themselves mistaken ; for Major Generall Middleton, and the honnest part of the officers of the armie told them, that such a petition, which lookd so like mutinie, could not be presented to the Parliament without incurring the dishonour which Fairfax, his armie had draune upon it selfe, to impose on the Parliament of England. To oppose this petition, Middleton was please to make use of me ; neither was I, indeed, unwilling to contribute all my endeavors for the destruction of a paper which, if it had beene red, wold have spoke with

so loud a voyce, that many of the members, who were bot indifferent, wold have spoke Argiles language very plainlie. The busines was so handled that it was never presented.

Innumerable allmost were the petitions that came from all places of the kingdome, against the raising of forces for his Majesties releasement. Glasgow being a considerable toun, was most refractorie to this Parliament ; for Mr Dick, whom they lookd upon as a patriarch, Mr Baillie, Mr Gillespie and Mr Durhame, all mightie members of the kirk of Scotland, had preachd them to a perfite disobedience of all civill power, except such as was authorisid by the Generall Assembly and Commission of the Kirk ; and so indeed was the whole west of Scotland, who cryd up King Christ, and the kingdome of Jesus Christ, therby meaning the uncontroullable and unlimited dominion of the then kirk of Scotland, to whom they thought our Saviour had deli-verd over his scepter, to governe his militant church as they thought fit. For this reasoun, I am sent to Glasgow to reduce it to obedience, with three troops of horse, and Holburns regiment of foot, which a litle before that had mutind in the Links of Lieth ; (their colonell, lieutenant colonell, and all their captains haveing deserted them,) bot the mutinie was with some difficultie compesid by myselfe, and that regiment brought by me the length of Cramond, in its march to Glasgow. In Glasgow were many honest and loyall men, the prime wherof wer the Cambells and the Bells ; and indeed I had good helpe of Coline Campbell, James Bell and Bayliffe James Hamilton. At my comeing there I found my worke not very difficill ; for I shortlie learnt to know, that the quartering tuo or three troopers, and halfe a dozen musketeers, was ane argument strong enough, in two or three nights time, to make

the hardest headed Covenanter in the toun to forfike the kirk, and side with the Parliament. I came on the fridai, and nixt day sent to Mr Dick, and desird him and his brethren to say nothing nixt day in their pulpits that might give me just reason to disturbe the peace of the church. In the forenoone he spoke us very faire, and gave us no occasion of offence ; but in the afternoone he transgresd all limits of modestie, and raild malitieouſlie against both King and Parliament. This obligd me to command all my officers and fojors to goe presentlie out of the church, because I neither could nor would suffer any under my command to be witness(es) of a misdemeanor of that nature. At the firſt Dick was timorous, and promisd if I wold stay, he wold give me ſatisfaction ; bot I told him I wold trust him no more, ſince he had broke hiſ promife made in the forenoone. Seeing I intended no worse but to remove, he continued his ſermon, and nixt day went to Edinburgh to complaine ; bot ſent one that fame night to make his greeveance to the Duke, who was comd the day before to his palace of Hammilton. Thither I went nixt morning. His Grace approvd of all I had done ; and there was reason for it ; because I had done nothing bot by his ounē order, and his brother E. Lainricks advice. This was that great and well neere inexpiable finne which I committed against the ſacred ſovereaigntie of the kirk ; for which all members were ſo implacable and irreconcileable enemies to me afterward.

Finding my Glasgow men groune prettie tame, I tenderd them a ſhort paper, which whoever ſigned I promisd ſould be presentlie eaſd of all quartering. It was nothing bot a ſubmiſſion to all orders of Parliament, agreeable to the Covenant. This paper was afterward by ſome merrie men christend Turners Covenant. It was quiçklie ſignd

by all, except some inconsiderable persons ; and so soone as Duke Hamilton had causd read my letter in Parliament, and the signd papers sent to the Clearke Register, I was orderd to march to Renfrew, to reduce that shire to obedience. I left the Generall of the Artilleries regiment, which was not very strong, at Glasgow, and marchd with my oun (for the Parliament had given me that of Holburns, and my Lord Duke had placd me himselfe at Glasgow) and eleven troops of horse ; for stll as they were levied in the east, they were sent west to me. I lay at Paislay myselfe with my regiment, and quarterd my troopes round about. Bot the people from severall parishes came so fast to me, offering their obedience to the Parliament, that I knew not well how to quarter my present men, much lesse these troopes, and Calanders regiment, which were on their march westward.

Meantime a pettie rebellion must be usherd in by religion, yea, by one of the sacredeft misteries of it, even the celebration of our Lords supper ; so finely could these pretended saints make that *vinculum pacis*, that bond of peace, the commemoration of our Savieours sufferings and death, that peace so often inculcated, and left as a legacie by our blessed Lord to his whole Church ; so handfomelie, I say, could these hipo-crits make it the simbole of warre, and bloody broyles. Whill I lay at Paislay, a communion, as they call it, is to be given at Machlin church, to pertake wherof all good people are permitted to come ; bot because the times were, forsooth, dangerous, it was thought fit all the men sould come armed. Nixt Monday, which was their thanksgiveing day, there were few lesse to be feene about the church then tuo thousand armed men, horse and foot. I had got some intelligence of the designe before, and had acquainted the Duke with it ; who orderd me expreflie not to

sturre till Calander and Middletones coming ; who accordinglie on the Saturday before the communion came to Glasgow, where I met them, and then went straight forward to Paſlay. A rendevoſus is appointed by Calander to be of horse and foot at Steuarton hill nixt Monday. From thence Lieut. General Middleton is ſent with fixe troopes of horse to Machlin moore, where the armed communicants were ſaid to be. I intreated my Lord Calander (bot to no purpoſe) not to divide, bot rather march with all his forces, then hazard the overthrow of a few, which might endanger the whole. We advanced with the reſt, as the foot could march ; bot it was not long before we heard that the communicants had refuſed to goe to their houfes ; and having refſaved a briſke charge of Middletons forlorne hope, had worſted it ; and that himſelfe and Colonell Urrey comeing up to the reſcue, were both wounded in the heade ; which had ſo appalld their troopes, that if they loſſd no ground, they were glad to keepe what they had, and looke upon the faints. These unexpected news made Calander leave my regiment at Kilmarnock, and take his horse with him up to Middletone. I intreated him to march at leaſt at a great trot, if not at a gallope ; bot he would be more orderlie, and therefor marchd more ſloulie. We met numbers of boys and bedees, weeping and crying all was loſt ; bot at our appearance theлаſhing communicants left the field, the horſe trulie untouched, because not fiercelie purſued. About fixtie of their foot were taken, and five officers. The miſtiers that came in our power, who had occaſiond the miſchiefe, were nixt day diſmifd. Nixt day we marchd into Aire, where a court of warre is appointed to be keepd about the priſoners. The country fellows of them are paſdoned ; the officers ſentenced to be hanged or ſhot ; bot therafter were par-

dond ; to which I was very instrumentall, thogh I had bene president in the court of warre. Lieutenant Generall Middletons wound, and Colonel Urreys sufferd them to ride abroad within foure or five days. We knew not well what to doe, for Lambert was on the Border with a strong part of the English armie, and in a manner keepd Sir Marmaduke Langdail blockd up at Carlile. Our west countrey was not at all setled, bot very readie for new commotions. Upon this E. Calander defires a conference with the Duke, who then was at Edinburgh, to be at his oun house of Hamilton, to which the Duke readilie assented.

I had left my wife at Glasgow, and therfor defird libertie to goe there, and bid her good night, and accordinglie went thither. Within two nights came E. Calander, and Lieutenant Generall Middletone, and with them I went to Hammilton, takeing my leave of my deare wife, whom I did not see againe till she faw me prisoner at Hull.

At Hammilton, we could not bot with much regret and displeasure consider, that Sir Marmaduke and his Lieutenant Generall Sir Philip Mushgrave, both gentlemen of untainted loyaltie and gallantrie, had not onlie unseasoneable, and contrarie to the advices given them, raisd above 3000 foot and horse, bot had marchd with them into Lancashire, and therby had given a just pretext to the Parliament to send Lambert with a more considerable power, to give a stop to their further proceedings ; which he did so vigorouslie, that Langdale was glad to sheller himselfe under the walls of Carlile. This exposd him to a certaine and present ruine, unles he were succourd. To marche to his relief, were to leave the halfe of our forces in Scotland unleavied, and ane enemie behind our hand, ourselvs in a very bad condition, without money, meale, artillerie, or ammunition ; to suffer him to perish was

against honor, conscience, and the reason both of state and warre. It wold have given our enemies occasion to insult; wold have brought the Dukes honor (rudlie enough dealt with [by] some before) to an everlasting losse, and wold have given such just apprehensions of jealousies to the royalists in England, that never one of them wold have joyned with us, or ound us. The further debate of this busines is delayd till the Duke, Calander and Middleton went to Edinburgh to advise with the Committee of Estates, for the Parliament was then dissolvd. Bot in the meane time Colonell Lockheart is sent to command some brigads of horse at Anan, and I orderd to goe presentlie to Drumfreis, to take the command of fixe or seven regiments of foot, which were to be shortlie there. Our neernes to Carlile was thought might give Lambert some ombrages of both a stronger and a neerer approch. Neither were we mistaken in our conjecture; for so soone as we began to rally there, he drew his troops nearer together, and so Sir Marmaduk got aire, and with it some meate for himselfe, and grasse for his horses.

In this posture did Lockheart and I stay about a fortnight, tuelve miles distant one from ane other, till (Sir Marmaduks reliefe being concluded on at Edinburgh as purlie necessary,) my L. Duke, E. Calander, and Lieutenant Generall Middleton and Baillie, with many, bot weake regiments of horse and foot, randevoused at Anan. There I met them with my litle infantrie, ammunition and a great deale of meale, which had beene sent to me from Edinburgh and other places. Nixt day we advanced into England, order being given for all the regiments of the whole kingdome to haste after us, except such as were orderd to stay for defence of the countrey against our hidden enemies; and these were to be commanded by E. Lainrick, as commander in chiefe

at home. Our advance obligd Lambert to retire. Some skirmishes we had with him for a day or tuo, bot to litle purpofe. At length he got to Steinmure, where he beganne to fortifie himselfe. The Duke is necessitated to ftay ten or twelve days at Kirbie-thure, to reffave those regiments were marching from Scotland, which did not exceed the halfe of their numbers they fould have beene, all neulie levied, raw and undisciplind ; and that summer was fo exceffivlie rainie and wet, that I may fay it was not poffible for us to keepe one musket often fixd, all the time we were in a bodie in England. Adde to this that we had no canon, nay not one field peece, very litle ammunition, and not one officer to direct it. Deare Sandie being groune old and doated, had given no fitting orders for these things. Whill the Duke lyes at Kirbie-thure, Sir Marmaduke besiegeth the caftle of Applebie, in which Lambert had left a guarrifon. I am fent with tuo brigads to ly neere him, for feare Lambert fould face about upon him. Within a few days the caftle yeelded.

Heere I will fet doun ane accident befell me ; for thogh it was not a very strange one, yet it was a very od one in all its parts. My tuo brigads lay in a village within halfe a mile of Applebie ; my oun quar-ter was in a gentlemans houfe, who was a Ritmaster, and at that time with Sir Marmaduke ; his wife keepd her chamber readie to be brought to bed. The caftle being over, and Lambert farre enough, I refolvd to goe to bed everie night, haveing had fatigue enough before. The firſt night I sleepd well enough ; and rifeing nixt morning, I misd one linnen stockine, one halfe filke one and one boothoſe, the accouſtrement under a boote for one leg ; neither could they be found for any ſearch. Being provided of more of the fame kind, I made myſelfe

reddie, and rode to the head quarters. At my returne, I could heare no news of my stockins. That night I went to bed, and nixt morning found myselfe just so used ; missng the three stockins for one leg onlie, the other three being left intire as they were the day before. A narrower search then the first was made, bot without successe. I had yet in reserve one paire of whole stockings, and a paire of boothose greater then the former. These I put on my legs. The third morning I found the same usage, the stockins for one leg onlie left me. It was time for me then, and my servants too, to imagine it must be rats that had shard my stockins so equallie with me ; and this the mistres of the house knew well enough, bot wold not tell it me. The roome, which was a low parlour, being well searchd with candles, the top of my great boothose was found at a hole, in which they had drawne all the rest. I went abroad, and orderd the boards to be raised, to see how the rats had disposd of my moveables. The mistres sent a servant of her oun to be present at this action, which she knew concernd her. One boord being bot a litle opend, a litle boy of mine thrust in his hand, and fetchd with him foure and tuentie old peeces of gold, and one angell. The servant of the house affirmd it appertained to his mistres. The boy bringing the gold to me, I went immediatlie to the gentlewomans chamber, and told her, it was probable Lambert haveing quarterd in that house, as indeed he had, some of his servants might have hid that gold ; and if so, it was laufullie mine ; bot if she could make it appeare it belongd to her, I shoud immediatlie give it her. The poore gentlewoman told me with many teares, that her husband being none of the frugallest men (and indeed he was a spendthrift) she had hid that gold without his knowledge, to make use of it as she had oc-

casion, especiallie when she lay in ; and conjurd me, as I lovd the King, (for whom her husband and she had sufferd much) not to detaine her gold. She said, if there was either more or lesse then foure and tuentie whole peeces, and two halfe ones, it sould be none of hers, and that they were put by her in a red velvet purse. After I had given her assurance of her gold, a new search is made, the other angell is found, the velvet purse all gnawd in bits, as my stockins were, and the gold instantlie restord to the gentlewoman. I have often heard that the eating or gnauing of cloths by rats is ominous, and portends some mischance to fall on these to whom the cloths belong. I thank God I was never addicted to such divinations, or heeded them. It is true, that more misfortuns then one fell on me shortlie after ; bot I am sure I could have better forseene them myselfe then rats or any such vermine, and yet did it not. I have heard indeed many fine stories told of rats, how they abandon houses and ships, when the first are to be burnt, and the seconde dround. Naturalists say they are very sagacious creatures, and I beleeve they are so ; bot I shall never be of the opinion they can forsee future contingencies, which I suppose the divell himselfe can neither forknow nor fortell ; these being things which the Almighty hath keepd hidden in the bosome of his divine prescience. And whither the great God hath preordained or predestinated these things, which to us are contingent, to fall out by ane uncontrollable and unavoidable necessitie, is a question not yet decided.

My Lord Duke marcheth on with this ill equipd and ill orderd armie of his, in which I being Colonell of a regiment, I officiated also as Adjutant Generall, or rather indeed doeing the duetie of Major Generall of the infantrie, since there was none namd for it. To relieve

Langdale at Carlile, brought us out of the roade, and truelie we never came in the right way againe ; so true is the old saying, once wrong and ay wrong. At Hornbie, a days march beyond Kendall, it was advisd whether we sould march be Lancashire, Cheshire and the western counties, or if we sould goe into Yorkshire, and so put ourselvs in the straight roade to London, with a resolusion to fight all wold oppose us. Calander was indifferent ; Middletone was for Yorkshire ; Baillie for Lancashire. When my opinion was askd, I was for Yorkshire, and for this reason onlie, that I understood Lancashire was a close countrey, full of ditches and hedges, which was a great advantage the English would have over our raw and undisciplind musketeers ; the Parliaments armie consisting of experienced and well traind sojors, and excellent firemen ; on the other hand, Yorkshire being a more open countrey, and full of heaths, where we both might make use of our horse, and come sooner to push of pike. My Lord Duke was for Lancashire way, and it seemd he had hopes that some forces would joyne with him in his march that way. I have indeed heard him say, that he thought Manchester his oun, if he came neere it. Whatever the matter was, I never saw him tenacieous in any thing during the time of his command bot in that. We choosd to goe that way, which led us to our ruine. Our march was much retarded by most rainie and tempestuous weather, wherof I spoke before, the elements fighting against us ; and by staying for countrey horses to carry our little ammunition. The vanguard is constantlie given to Sir Marmaduke, upon condition he sould constantlie furnish guides, pioneers for clearing the ways, and which was more than both these, to have good and certaine intellligence of all the enemies motions. Bot whither it was

by our falt or his neglect, want of intelligence helpd to ruine us ; for Sir Marmaduke was well neere totallie routed, before we knew that it was Cromwell that attackd us : *Quos vult perdere, hos dementat Jupiter.*

Befide Preston in Lancashire, Cromwell falls on Sir Marmadukes flanke. The English imagine it was one Colonell Ashton, a powerfull presbiterian, who had got together about 3000 men to oppofe us, because we came out of Scotland without the Generall Assemblies permission. Marke the quarrell. While Sir Marmaduke disputs the matter, Baillie, by the Dukes order, marcheth to Ribble Bridge, and paſſeth it with all the foot, except tuo brigads. This was tuo miles from Preston. By my Lord Dukes command, I had ſent ſome amunition and commanded men to Sir Marmaduks affiſtance ; bot to no purpose ; for Cromwell prevайд, ſo that our English firſt retird and then fled. It muſt be remeberd that the night before this ſad rencounter, E. Calander and Middleton were gone to Wigham, eight miles from thence, with a conſiderable part of the caſtaliſt. Calander was comd backe, and was with the Duke, and ſo was I ; bot upon the rout of Sir Marmaduks people, Calander got away to Ribble, where he arrivd ſafelie by a miracle, as I thinke ; for the enemie was betueene the bridge and us, and had killd or taken the moſt part of our tuo brigads of foot. The Duke with his guard of horſe, Sir Marmaduke with many officers, among others myſelfe, got into Preston toun, with intention to paſſe a foorde below it, thogh at that time not rideable. At the entrie of the toun, the enemie purſued us hard. The Duke facd about, and put tuo troops of them to a retreate ; bot ſo ſoone as we turnd from them, they turnd upon us. The Duke facing the ſecond time, charged

them, which succeeded well. Being pursued the third time, my Lord Duke cryd to charge once more for King Charles. One trooper refuseing, he beat him with his suord. At that charge we put the enemie so farre behind us, that he could not overtake us so soone. Then Sir Marmaduke and I entreated the Duke to haft him to his armie ; and truelie he shew heere as much personall valour as any man could be capable of. We suimd the river, and so got to the place where Lieutenant Generall Baillie had advantageouslie lodgd the foot on the top of a hill, among very fencible inclosures.

After Calander came to the infantrie, he very unadvisedlie sent fixe hundredth musketeers to defend Ribble bridge ; for the way Cromwell had to it was a descent from a hill that commanded all the champaigne, which was about ane English quarter of mile in length betueene the bridge and that hill where our foot were lodged ; so that our musketeers haveing no shelter, were forced to reffave all the musketades of Cromwell's infantrie, which was secure within thicke hedges ; and after the loss of many men, were forced to runne backe to our foot. Here Claud Hammilton, the Dukes Lieutenant Colonell, had his arme broke with a musket bullet. The bridge being loft, the Duke calld all the Colonells together on horsebacke, to advise what was nixt to be done. We had no choyce bot one of tuo, either stay and maintaine our ground till Middlestone (who was sent for), came backe with his cavalrie ; or els march away that night, and find him out. Calander wold needs speake first ; wheras by the custome of warre, he shoulde have told his opinion last, and it was to march away that night so soone as it was darke. This was seconded by all the rest, except by Lieutenant Generall Baillie and myselfe. Bot all the arguments we used, as the impossibilitie of

a safe retreat from ane enemie so powerfull of horse, in so very foule weather, and extremelie deepe way, our fojors exceeding wet, wearie, and hungrie, the inevitable losse of all our ammunition, could not move my Lord Duke by his authoritie to contradict the shamefull resolution taken by the major part of his officers. After that the drumles march is resolvd on, and bot few horse appointed to stay in the reare of the foot, I inquird what sould become of our unfortunate ammunition, since forward with us we could not get it. It was not thought fitt to blow it up that night, least thereby the enemie sould know of our reteate or rather flight. I was of that opinion too, bot for ane other reason; for we could not have bloune it then, without a visible michefe to ourselfes, being so neare it. It was ordaind it sould be done three hours after our departure, by a traine; bot that being neglected, Cromwell got it all. Nixt morning we appeard at Wiggam Moore, half our number lesse than we were; most of the faint and wearie fojors haveing lagd behind, whom we never saw againe. Lieutenant Generall Middlestone had misd us, for he came by ane other way to Ribble bridge. It was to be wishd he had still stayd with us. He, not finding us there, followd our tracke, bot hotlie pursued by Cromwells horse, with whom he skirmishd the whole way, till he came within a mile of us. He lost some men, and severall were hurt; among others Colonell Urrey got a dangerous shot on the left fide of his heade, wherof, though he was afterward taken prisoner, he recoverd. In this reteate of Middletons, which he managed well, Cromwell losd one of the gallantest officers he had, Colonell Thornton, who was runne in the breafe with a lance, wherof he dyed. After Lieutenant Generall Middletons comeing, we beganne to think of fighting in that moore; bot

that was found impossible, in regard it was nothing large, and environd with enclosurs which commanded it ; and these we could not main-taine long, for want of that amunition we had left behind us ; and therfore we marchd forward with intention to gaine Warinton, ten miles from the moore we were in ; and there we conceavd we might face about, haveing the command of a toune, a river, and a bridge. Yet I conceave there was bot few of us thought we might be beaten, before we were masters of any of them. It was towards evening, and in the latter end of August, when our horse beganne to march. Some regiments of them were left with the reare of the foot ; Middle-ton stayd with them ; my Lord Duke and Calander were before. As I marchd with the last brigad of foot through the toune of Wiggam, I was alarmd that our horse behind me were beaten, and runne severall ways, and that the enemie was in my reare. I facd about with that brigad, and in the market place ferrd the pikes together, shoulder to shoulder, to keepe up any sould charge, and sent orders to the rest of the brigads before to continue their march, and follow Lieutenant Generall Baillie, who was before them. It was then night, bot the moone shone bright. A regiment of horse of our oun appeared first, riding very disorderlie. I got them to stop, till I commanded my pikes to open, and give way for them to ride or runne away, since they wold not stay. Bot my pikemen being demented, (as I thinke we were all,) wold not heare me, and tuo of them runne full tilt at me. One of their pikes, which was intended for my bellie, I gripd with my left hand ; the other run me neere tuo inches in the innerside of my right thigh ; all of them crying, that all of us were Cromwells men. This was an unseafonable wound, for it made me after that night unservicable.

This made me forget all rules of modestie, prudence and discretion. I rode to our horse, and desird them to charge through these foot. They, fearing the hazard of the pikes, stood. I then made a cry come from behind them, that the enemie was upon them. This encouragd them to charge my foot so fiercelie, that the pikemen threw doune their pikes and got into hou ses. All the horse gallop'd away ; and, as I was told afterwards, rode not thorough, bot over our whole foot, treading them doune ; and in this confusion Colonell Lockheart was trode doune from his horse, with great danger of his life. Thogh the enemie was neere, yet I beate drums to gather my men together. Shortlie after came Middlestone, with some horse. I told him what a disaster I had met with, and what a greater I expected. He told me, he wold ride before and make the horse halt. I marchd, however, all that night, till it was faire day ; and then Baillie, who had rested a litle, intreated me to goe into some house and repose on a chaire ; for I had sleepd none in tuo nights, and eate as litle. I alighted, bot the constant alarums of the enemies approch made me resolve to ride forward to Warinton, which was bot a mile ; and indeed I may say I sleepd all that way, notwithstanding my wound. I thought to have found either the Duke or Calander, or both heere, bot I did not ; and indeed I was often told that Calander carried away the Duke with him, much against his mind. Heere did the Lieutenant Generall of the foot meet with ane order, wherby he is required to make as good conditions for himselfe and those under him as he could ; for the horse wold not come backe to him, being resolv'd to preserve themselvs for a better time. Baillie was surpris'd with this, and lookeing upon that action which he was orderd to doe as full of dishonor, he los'd much of that patience of which naturallie he was

master ; and beseechd any that wold to shoot him thorough the head. At length, haveing somthing compold himselfe, and much follicited by the officers who were by him, he wrote to Cromwell. I then told him, that so long as ther was a resolution to fight, I wold not goe a foot from him ; bot now that they were to deliver themselvs prisoners, I wold preserve my libertie as long as I could, and so tooke my leave of him, carrying my wounded thigh away with me. I met immediatlie with Middlestone, who sadlie condold the irrecoverable losses of the tuo last days. Within tuo hours after, Baillie and all the officers and sojors that were left of the foot, were Cromwells prisoners. I got my wound dresfd that morning by my oun Surgeon, and tooke from him these things I thought necessare for me, not knowing when I might see him againe ; as indeed I never saw him after.

That unhappy day we met with Cromwell at Preston, some regiments of horse, and our Irish auxiliaries under the command of Sir George Monro (who were fifteene hundred good foot and three hundred horse, and were appointed, against all reason of warre, to be constantlie a days march behind us) all of them, I say, finding the enemie had got betweene us and them, marchd straight backe to Scotland, and joynd with E. Lainricks forces. Bot so soone as the news of our deafeate came to Scotland, Argile and the Kirks partie rose in armes everie mothers sonne ; and this was calld the Whiggamer rode. Da. Leslie was on their heade, and old Leven in the Castle of Edinburgh, cannonading the royall troopes when they came in view of him. Yet might they have been all verie soone conjurd to be quiet, if the royalists had not suffered themselves to be cheated by a treatie, by which they were obligd to lay down armes, and quite their power in civill and

militarie affaires. Bot the principall men of them, particularlie the Earles Lauderdale and Lainrick, Sir George Monro, Dalyell and Drummond, and others, found it not saife to trust the Saincts too much, and therfor croſd the feas, to take sanctuarie in Holland. Cromwell at Warinton fends Lambert with a ſufficient cavalrie after us, and follows Monro with the ſtrength of his armie to the Border, and there is invited by the Presbiterians to enter Scotland. He gets Berwick and Carlile baſelie yeelded to him ; and in one of them a number of English gentlemen who had ſervd the King ; ane infamous act ! He is feasted by old Leven, (peerēs of one tree) in the Caſtle of Edinburgh ; which within tuo yeares after he made his ounē. These men, who courted him, were ſo faithfull to the Covenant, that if fame wrong not ſome of them, they agreed with him in my Lady Homes house in the Canongate, that there was a neceſſitie to take away the Kings life. Now, for the good intertaining the Presbiterians had given this Arch Independent, at his returne to England, he left Lambert, (who had diſpatched us before) with foure regiments of horſe, to defend them againſt the Malignants (for ſo were honneſt men called), till forces of their ounē were raifed, which was ſoone done. And then Acts of State and Kirke are made, to incapacitate all who had beene in England with the Duke, all who had abetted that engadgment, or had conſented to it, from any office, charge or employment in State, Church, or Militia ; and numbers of honneſt Minifters, upon that fame account, turned out of their benefices and livelihoods.

To returne to the Duke in England. At night, after I left Warinton, when I came to him, all the reſolution I found taken was, to march forward a day or tuo, and then by a turne to endeavour to get into

Scotland ; for there was then no visible partie for the King in England to joyne with ; Cromwell haveing, before he came to us, routed and broken all these who rose in Wales, and hangd many of the principal gentlemen of them. And Fairfax had broke all these who rose for the King in other counties, first under the Earle of Holland, and then under the Earle of Norwich, chaceing him and the remainder of them into Colcheter, which, after a siege, was furrendered to him on discretion, as I thinke. Heere Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lile were cruellie dealt with, having bot tuo houres given them to prepare for death ; and after that shourt time, by the instigation of wicked Ireton, Cromwells sonne in law, mercileslie shot dead.

The first day, then, of the Dukes march from that place where I found him, was to Whitechurch, (in what countie I do not remember.) There a great number of the countrey traind bands appeard against us, bot were quicklie put to flight by Middleton, without bloodshed. That day we marchd many miles, and at night most or all the horse lodgd in the field, where their horses fed well. Some officers went to houses ; bot I lodgd at a hedge, and sleepd there so sound, that at break of day the trumpets could not waken me ; that being the fourth night in which I had sleepd none, except on horsebacke. Nixt day we made a long halt at a countrey toune, I thinke in Staffordshire, called Stone. Heere, because we had not enemies enough to take our lives, a trooper killd his oun Ritmaster, one Patrick Grey, who had beene a captaine under me in my Lord Sinclars regiment. The trooper was in the place shot dead, by my Lord Dukes command ; who, to speake truelie, was too spareing in taking lives, his clemencie occasioning the keeping very bad discipline the whole time of our march in England.

A litle after we had removd from that place, Lieutenant General Middleton making good the reare against some of the countrey militia troopes, was taken ; his horse having fallen under him. He was carried to Stafford ; and indeed, after that, we might trulie have said we were all prisoners ; for I am sure enough, if he, or rather we, had escapd that misfortune, such unhappy accidents had beene prevented by him, which shortlie ruind us. And I know not bot he keeping us united, might not at a long runne have brought himselfe and most of us to Scotland. We came at night to Uxeter, in most tempestuous, windie, and rainie weather. Nixt morning, when we were on our march, a great unwillingnes in the horsemen, and some of their officers to march further ; the wearines of both man and horse, ane irresolution whether to goe, and most of all, a fatalitie which pursud us, made the Duke turne backe, and take up his quarters in the same toure. Neither that day nor nixt night was any thing resolvd on, bot to rest and refresh man and horse, and then either treate with these forces that had furrounded us, or fight them and march away. Sir Marmaduk Langdale, and these few English who were with him, had left us at Uxeter. He was taken afterward, bot faved his life by escapeing out of prison. The Duke and Calander fell out, and were at very hie words at supper, where I was ; each blameing the other for the misfortune and mis-carriage of our affaires ; in which contest I thought the Duke had the better of it. And heere, indeed, I will say, that my Lord Dukes great fault was in giving E. Calander too much of his pouer all along ; for I have often heard him bid him doe what he pleased, promiseing to be therwith well contented. And therfor Calander was doublie to be blamd, first for his bad conduct, (for that was inexcusable,) and nixt for

reproching the Duke with that whereof himselfe was guiltie. To fill up the measure of our misfortunes, our troopers mutine against the Duke, Calander, and all their officers. Whether this proceeded of their oune wickednes, or by the instigation of some of their oune commanders, (which I then shrewdlie suspected,) is uncertaine. The Duke and Calander are keepd prisoners, with strong guards of the mutineers, all nixt night in the Dukes lodgeing, with many other officers, and among others myselfe. Nixt morning, so soone as I could see, I cald over the window of the Dukes bedchamber to them, and askd them, if they were not yet ashamed of the base usage they had given their Generall, and of that contempt they had shewn of all discipline, and of the ignominie of this action ; and requird them, if for no other reason, yet for their oune safetie from the common enemie, to returne to their duetie, and goe home to their lodgings. Immediatlie they removd their guards, and went to their severall quarters, cursing in generall words these who had prompted them to the mutinie ; which augmented my former suspition, but it was no time to make a strict inquirie in the busieness. Shortlie after, Calander went away with as many as would follow him ; which indeed were more than the halfe of these were in toune. No intreatie of the Duke or mediation of the officers could prevaile with him. I dealt particularlie with him, bot in vaine. He usd many arguments to move me to goe along with him, bot I told him, if I keepd my life, I wold be one of the last men sould stay with the Generall. I heard that not long after he was deserted by all that went with him, as he had deserted my Lord Duke. Yet he had the good fortune (which I believe no other officer of our armie had,) to get safe to London in a disguise, and from thence to Holland.

I must remember heere, that the day after we returnd to Uxeter, there came some gentlemen of Staffordshire with a trumpet from the governour of the toun to my Lord Duke, who shew his Grace, that in the time Middleton had servd the Parliament in the qualitie of Major Generall, he had done many good offices to both the town and the shire ; and therefor to witnes their thankfulnes, they were comd to intreate his Grace to permit them to carry Middletons servants, horses and baggage to him at Stafford. This was readilie granted by the Duke, with his heartie thankes to the gentlemen for their so seafonable kindnes. Standing by the Duke when this passed, I bethought myfelfe of sending some moneys in Middletons coffers. There was a hundred and fiftie pounds sterline of it, which one of our commissaries had intreated me to cause some of my servants carry, because in our tumultuarie march after Preston, he knew not what to doe with it. Lieutenant Generall Middleton haveing taken 500 lb. sterline from some other commissaries, upon that same account, I dealt with Middletones secretarie and his valet de chambre, to take my money with them ; bot they both rudlie and obstinatlie refusd it, till I conjurd the uncivil humour out of them, with the pouerfull charme of tuentie pound sterline, and then they found roome for the rest of the money. Some of this I gave afterwards to our sojors, who were prisoners at Stafford, and much I lent to indigent officers, and tooke notes from them for it, which I got occasion to send to my wife in Scotland, who got thankfull payment afterward of much of it.

Calander being gone, there was ane absolute necessitie imposed on the Duke to capitulate with the Governor of Stafford, who had about 3000 of the countrey militia with him, with which we were surround-

ed. Sir James Foullis of Colinton, Colonell Lockheart and myselfe are namd and commissionated by my Lord Duke to treate. We met with the governour and some of the principall gentlemen, three miles from Uxeter, at a very pleasant house in Staffordshire, where, as they had told us, Mary Queene of Scots had beene long keepd prisoner. This with superstitious people wold have lookd ominous for us, who were of that nation. In our treatie, we found them very civill and rationall, and so much friends to monarchie, that we had reason to expect no bad conditions from them. Bot Fortune had not yet made peace with us. We are interrupted by a messenger sent by Lambert, to acquaint both them and us that he was comd within tuo miles of that place, and that, if we wold treate, it must be with him. These were no good news, yet we presentlie horsd and went to him. We found him very discreet, and his expreſſions civill enough. He appointed three principall officers to treate with us, wherof Lieutenant Generall Lilburn was one. After much discourse, they offerd to us, if we wold redeliver Berwick and Carlile to the English Parliament, we sould be permitted to goe ; nay, we sould be convoyd backe to Scotlande. We told them we had no pouer in our commission to speake of these tounes ; and so other articles were agreed on by us, bot not fignd till I sould goe firſt to the Duke and show him, if he wold furrender these tuo tounes, he and all with him sould have their libertie ; if not, we were by the articles all prisoners. He absolutlie refusd to engadge for the deliverie of these places, as a thing he said was not in his pouer ; justlie suspecting the Deputie Governors of the tounes wold not obey his orders in the condition he was ; and so with many forrowfull expreſſions dismisſd me. Upon the way as I returned, I met Lambert, with ſome troops,

who told me he was goeing to save my Lord Duke from my Lord Grey of Groobie, who was marching towards Uxeter on the other fide of the toune, which I knew before I came from the Duke to be true. He desird me by all meanes to hast the signing the articles, which he promisfd to ratifie. At my returne, I told my comerads what reasoun we had to make haste ; and haveing reported the Dukes answere to the English officers, we all immediatlie signd the articles, which, indeed, if they had been malitious, they might have wavd ; for whill we were about it, one Major Gib, ane officer of our oun, came very unmanerlie into the roome, belching out his folly in these words : " Gentlemen, what doe ye doo ? The Duke and all who are with him are my Lord Greys prisoners." Yet the commiffioners signed for all that ; and indeed my Lord Duke was by that time prisoner, bot Lambert tooke the protection of him ; for our agreement was ratified by him, and by the Duke too, for he was not to be esteemed a prisoner, because taken in the time of a cessation and treatie, against custome of warre. Our first article was for the Duke, that he sould onlie be a prisoner of warre, nor sould his life ever be questiond or in danger. He sould keepe his George ; fixe of his fervants, fuch as he sould choose, sould be permitted to attend him, and fixe of his best horses likewife ; that in his prison accesle of all persons to him sould be allowd ;—conditions good enough, but very ill keepd. The summe of the rest of the articles was this : That all of us, both officers and foyors, sould be prisoners of warre, bot civillie used, till we could procure our libertie by ex-change or ransome ; that all of us sould keepe the cloths we had on us, and all the gold and money we had about us, all other baggage, armes, and horses, sould be bootie and prise to the victor. We three

who had capitulated, were orderd to be carried to Stafford, where Middleton was. The captain who conducted us thither got our horses and armes. As we rode thorough Uxeter, we made a stand at the window of the Dukes chamber ; and he looking out, we tooke our eternall farewell of him, with sad hearts parting from him we were never to see againe. He spoke kindlie to us; and so we left him to act the last and worst part of his tragedie.

At Stafford, where were very many prisoners, we stayd, I thinke, seuen or eight days ; and then came a Ritmaster (who had beene a glover, and still keepd both the mine and manners of a mechanick,) with fortie horse, and ane order from Lambert to cary my Lord Cranston, Lieutenant Generall Middleton, Colonel Lockhert and myselfe, to Kingstqn upon Hull. One Major Crafurd, with much importunitie, got leave to goe along with his coufine Lockhert. We tooke our leave of our fellow prisoners, and of the governour, who had beene very civil to us ; and so had all his officers, and the touns people likewise. This Ritmaster was a fellow of low qualitie, weake intellectualls, a violent Independent, a mortall enemie to the King, his familie and all monarchie ; a persecutor of Presbitrie. For the rest of his endouments, we found him not ill natured ; neither will I wrong him much if I bestow upon him the title of a foole. He furnishd horses for ourselvs and servants. My Lord Cranstoun had tuo servants allowd him ; so had the Lieutenant Generall, Collonell Lockheart and I, each of us one. The Ritmaster and his litle troope was but ill mounted, and therfor gave us ease enough on our journey ; neither was it unpleasant, except when the sad remembrance of our oun condition, and that of all honnest men, mixd too much water with our wine. On

the fifteenth of September, if I remember right, we arrivd at Hull. Our Ritmaster left us at Yorke, to whom, because he was not very uncivill, we gave tuentie five pounds sterline in gold, wherof my share was five. And heere I must make a litle stop, (for indeed I did so, staying there long enough,) and looke backe a litle.

It is a true saying, " Man propos, and God dispsons ;" neither is it in the pouer, or within the reach of the wit of weake man, to project a busines with so much caution, or prosecute it with soe much industrie, prudence or courage, bot it may be blafted from Heaven, and renderd unsuccesfull by these contingencies which can neither be forfeene nor prevented. The truth of this we found in this unhappie expedition. What was intended for the Kings relife and restoration, posted him to his grave. His sad imprisonment calld for affistance from all his loyall subiects, which as a duetie the laws both of God and man seemd to impose on them. Our hopes of success were great, grounded on the equitie of our just undertakeing, the prevailing of the royall partie in Ireland, the returne of most of the navie to their due-tie and obedience, under the then Prince of Wales, now King ; the numerous and loyall rifeings of many shires in England and Wales; against that usurped pouer which keepd his Majestie in restraint, and upon our oun strength ; for our armie was intended to have beene tuentie thousand foot, and fixe thousand horse and dragoons. Bot we never amounted to fourteeene thousand in all. These were honnest and faire motives for that loyall and well intended engadgment of ours ; bot,

Ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus.

The heavens brings things unto ane other end,
Then that, for which blind man did them intend.

The Allmighty in his inscrutable will had orderd matters otherwise, and refusd a blessing to that unhappy armie ; for the ruine and destruction wherof did contribute, as second causes, the mischievous retardment and obstruction Argile and his kirke so vigorouslie made, which hinderd us to come time enough to joyne with the southerne counties ; Langdales unadvised and too sudden levies, and his unseasonable march to Lancashire, which obliged Lambert to come against him, and chace him to Carlile ; which imposd a neccesitie on the Duke to march to his releefe, before he was halfe readie ; the weaknes, rawnes, and undisciplindnes of our fojors, our want of artillerie and horses to cary the litle ammunition we had, the constant rainie, stormie and tempestuous weather which attended us, which made all hie ways impassible for man and beast, our want of intelligence, our leaveing our Irish auxiliaries so farre behind us, and our unfortunate resolution to wave Yorkshire, and march by Lancashire ; all which, being hinted at by me before, made us a prey to Cromwells veterane armie. Hence followd the alteration of the government in all the three kingdomes ; the Kings execrable murther, who was brought from Carisbroke Castle to Westminster, is arraignd, impeachd, condemn'd, and hath his heade strucke off in the sight of the sun at noontide of the day, at the gate of his oun palace of Whitehall ; and the death and totall ruine of most of the royll partie.

Bot to returne to Hull. Colonell Robert Overton was governor there ; a great Independent, who hath since had his share of imprisonment, both under the Usurper Oliver, and under his present Majestie ; so it wold seeme he hath beene ane enemie to monarchie, whatever name it had, whether King or Protector. Civill and discreet he was,

had been at ane Inns of Court, was a schollar, bot a litle pedantick. He made us wellcome, and lodgd us tuo months in tuo severall inns, where we were well enough used for our money, and well enough guarded withall. Before the end of that time, my Lord Cranston, by the mediation of his father in law Generall Leven, was first carried away from us to Néuastle, and therafter set at libertie. At the end of these tuo months, Middleton and Lockheart, by the intercessione of their friends, likewise were carried to Newcastle ; bot Major Crafurd was not permitted to goe with his coufne Lockheart. After that, Middleton got libertie to goe to and stay at Berwick, till his ladie was brought to bed there ; when that was done, he made his escape to Scotland, which wold have cost him deare three years after, if he had not playd the same game, and escapd out of the Toure of London. Lockheart might have been releasd for some money ; bot whether it was to spare that, or to enjoy the too acceptable societie of Paul Hobson, he knows best. After they were gone, I am put in the Provoft Marshalls hands, and Major Crafurd to beare me companie. I had, notwithstanding that I was in the common prison, which formerlie had beene the Houfe of Correction, ane indifferent good chamber, and a good bed for myselfe, and ane other for my servant. I was very ftrictlie guarded, and no lesse than fyve centries keepd constantlie about me. I learnt the alteration of my usage afterward, and the causes of it.

After Cromwell had left Lambert in Scotland, he marchd to Pomfret Castle ; which Lieutenant Colonell Morris had surprised, and keepd then for the King, for which they hangd him afterward at Yorke. Whill I was prisoner at Hull, Cromwell besiegeth it, and sents for Overton to command in that service nixt to himselfe. In the meane

time, Argile and the Kirk being able to stand on their oun legs, dis-
missd Lambert with many thankes. He had beene very well enter-
taind in Scotland, which made him so desireous to returne to it tuo
yeares after. So soone as he came to Pomfret, Cromwell thought he
spent his time not well in takeing a castle from the King, when he in-
tended to take the heade from the King ; left Lambert to reduce Pom-
fret, sends Overton back to Hull, and marchd directlie to London with
the rest of his forces, to murther the best of Kings.

At the governors returne to Hull, he required me to plight my faith
to him, by a revers under my hand, to be a faithfull prisoner, and not
goe without the walls of Hull without his libertie. He brought me
this message himselfe. I told him I was readie to doe it, provided he
removd his guards from me ; which he refuseing to doe, I shew him
that if he tooke my parole or faith, he was obliged to trust me ; for,
fides et fiducia sunt relativa ; and if he tooke my word for my fidelitie,
he was obliged to trust it, otherwaise it was needles for him to seeke it,
and in vaine for me to give it ; and therefore I beseechd him, either to
give trust to my word, which I sould not breake, or to his oun guards,
who, I supposd, wold not deceive him. In this manner I dealt with him,
because I knew he was a schollar. He acknouledgd all I said to be
true, bot withall he told me, I must either doe all he desired of me, or
doe worse. I prayd him to tell me what was that ? He said he had
order from his Lieutenant Generall, meaning Cromwell, to keep me in
irons ; bot he thought the severenes of that command proceeded from
the care he had I sould not escape. The Governor himselfe conceavd,
if he keepd me so well that he might present me to the Lieutenant
Generall when I was calld for, he had made choyce of a way for it

more tolerable for me. He promisid to befriend me as much as he could, without his ounē prejudice, and so indeed he did ; bot assurd me any rough usage I ressayd or might reslave, came out of Scotland. I then gave him what he demanded, with many thanks for not putting his order in execution. I could not then bot reflect upon the kind recommendation that Argile, or some of that partie, had given to Cromwell of me ; and I make no doubt but if greater matters had not chacd the remembrance of me out of Cromwells mind, and some misunderstandings that arose betweene him and his friends in Scotland, that they could not convenientlie put him in mind of me, some greater mischiefe then imprisonment had befallen me. Most of all these prisoners of warre that were in the common goale with me, were shortlie after releasid one way or other, and so was Major Craford alfo ; bot in all their roomes came Colonell Boynton, who had persuaded his brother (thogh a great Independent) to declare himself and the Castle of Scarborough, wherof he was Governour, for the King. A fine young gentleman this was, had studied in one of the universities, was travell'd, and well seene in historie and in the present state of Christendome. He and I were constantlie guarded with tuentie musketeers. The Marshall who had the principall government of us, was one Watsone, who had beene ane Alderman and wooll merchant in Dubline, and had broke for 25,000 lb. sterline ; he was afterward Marshall Generall in Scotland. He was civill enough to us, and after the Kings restoration, I chancd to doe him some favours at Edinburgh. He had a depute under him, one Lindale, one of these we call good honest men, or if you please, a fillie simble fellow. Under him there was a third, called Standfield ; he was since a regiment marshall at Aire, and lives now at Newbotle in

Scotland. He was our turnkey, and lockd us in our severall chambers everie night. We dieted with him for eightene pence a meale for each of ourselves, and eight pence for each of our servants. I payd for neere a twelvemonth a shilling sterline every night for my oun bed, and a groat for my mans ; a shilling everie day for coales, and a groat for candles, summer and winter. I had much comfort in Boyntons companie so long as he stayd, which was full six months ; and then he got his libertie on bond.

In the month of December, 1648, my wife came out of Scotland to me. I was extreamlie glad to see her, thogh very fory she sould have made so long a journey in so bad a time of the yeare. She had obtained in Scotland ane order from Lambert to Overton, to send me to Newcastle ; bot he excusd himselfe, in regard he had a later order from him who commanded over Lambert. Yet my wife, much against my will, wold needs goe to Lambert at Pomfret, where he reffavd her civillie, bot said it was not in his power to contradict his Lieutenant Generalls order. She returnd, after getting bad entertainment and lodgeing at Pomfret, and after a pitifull journey of threescore miles, in deepe and allmost unrideable way, and in most stormie and rainie weather. She stayd about a month with me, much to my comfort ; and fore against her will returned to Scotland, whether I would have her goe to looke to our particular affaires. It is to be supposed we parted forroufullie, and so indeed we did ; yet not without hopes to see one aneother joyfullie againe, as it pleased God we did a twelve month after.

Haveing accustomd myselfe all my life over to be sometimes solitarie and retird, wherin I ever tooke much delight, I did not take my restraint so greevouflie as these would doe, who either will not or can-

not live without companie. And haveing the use of booke, paper, pen and ink, I deceavd the longnes of the time with readeing and writing. Withall, the Governour permitted me not onlie to goe to church, bot to walke sometimnes on the toune walls, with one of my marshalls and tuo musketeers with me ; some honnest royalists of the toune were permitted also to give me visites. Yet for all these comforts I came to the knowledge of some things (for I had the reading of all the Gazets and Diurnalls) which made my restraint more bitter and heavie to me than otherwise it wold have beene ; for not to speake of the cruell usage I had in Scotland, men looking where any money of mine was to be got, and immediatlie seizd on, the disertion I met with of all my friends, yea my neereft relations, for these concernd onlie myfelfe ; first, I heard how mercilesslie the prefent Committee of Estates, who had usurped the government, had used men of all ranks and qualities, who had given bot the least occasion to suspect their honestie and loyaltie ; secondlie, the banishment of the peers of England out of the Upper House, and the extrusion, or as they calld it, the exclusion of the honnest members of the House of Commons, by Collonell Pride, at Cromwells command ; which portended, thirdlie, the Kings execrable murther the 30th of Januare, 1649 ; fourthlie, the taking Duke Hamiltons heade of on a scaffold at Westminster in March after. They beheaded him as Earle of Cambridge, and so a Peere of England, without haveing any regard at all to the articles he had for life ; bot in this I suppose Cromwell did nothing without advice from Scotland. Heere I can not bot bewaile the fate of that misfortunate Lord, who was a person of excellent qualities, of a great understanding, and good exprefions, curteous, affable, humane ; so mercifull that he was bot a bad

Justitiare, which I thought was a blemish in him ; one of the best masters to vassalls and tennants that our kingdome afforded. His constellation had inclind and appointed him to be a good statesman, and to be happie in the enjoyment of his Prince his favour, the *summum bonum* of courtiers, bot to be unfortunate in all his militarie employments both by sea and land. Most unhappy he was in his honour, which was branded most part of his life with foule aspersions of disloyaltie and treacherie ; neither will venomous tongues suffer his ashes to ly quiet, bot cast dust upon them as if he had dyd as a foole. I had onlie the honor to know him when he was my generall, and I believe he was faithfull to his soveraigne all his life ; bot in the time he had the conduct of that unfortunate armie, I dare sueare the deepest oath for his fidelitie and loyaltie, and that he intended nothing bot the full restoration of the King, for whom he dyed a martyr. Immediatlie after him were beheaded on that fame scaffold, E. Holland and the brave Lord Capell. Fifthlie, as I was glad to heare of Lieutenant Generall Middletons escape out of Berwick, and that he was upon the heade of a royall partie in the north of Scotland ; so it was grievous to me to heare that, in his absence from that partie, most of it was routed and beaten by Ker and Strachan, and himselfe forced to be contented with ane assurance that he might live at home in peace ; so little did that riseing contribute to the present Kings service. Sixthlie, I could not bot be exceedinglie greevd to heare all the canons about the walls of Hull shot, and see bonefires made in the streets, for joy of that victorie. Colonell Michael Jones had got, by a desperat sally out of Dubline, of the Marques of Ormond and all his numerous armie, even when he was absolutelie master of all Ireland except Dubline, Dundalk, and Londondarrie ; and

at that time too when Cromwell was readie with ane armie at Milford haven to crosse over to Ireland, to pursue that victorie, and reduce that kingdome to the Parliaments obedience, as he did. Seventhlie, I was forry to heare, that any thing might have been done for the King in Scotland, was totallie obstracted by the irreconcileable animosities betwene Duke William Hamilton and the Marquesse of Montroffe at the Haag, where they were both with the King ; as also that his Majestie, in steade of goeing to Ireland, which might have been preserved, was perswaded to goe see his mother in France ; from whence he went to Jersey, where he winterd in the yeare 1649, till ane addresse from the governing partie in Scotland brought him out of it to Breda, there to treate with his Scots Commissioners. I confess that all these sad intelligences comeing on the necke of other, did much afflict my spirit, yet not so much bot that I still hopd to live and see ane alteration ; for after a great storme, of necessitie a calme must follow.

Overton had promisid, that so soone as Cromwell went out of England, he wold propose some way for my libertie. So soone, then, as he was arrivd in Ireland, I put my Governor in mind of his promise. He adviseth me, in regard Watson my marshall was goeing to London about his oun affaires, I shoul give him some moneys, for which he wold oblige him to agent my busineses according to his direction, which was this. A friend of his, one Colonell Nidam, was killd in the Parliaments service, and had left his wife very poore. She shoul petition the Parliament to give her a prisoner, for whose libertie she might get some money. He said there was no doubt bot the Parliament wold referre the petition to Generall Fairfax, and then he wold deale with Mr Clerke, (who was then Fairfaxes secretarie under Rushworth,

finice knighted by the King, and killd at sea,) that I sould be the man, if I wold satisfie the widow. I humblie thankd him for this very kind proffer, and readilie accepted of it. The Governor writes to London with Watsone, who stayd ten weekes, mostlie at my charges. The Governor had cast up a right account ; for a letter is obtained to him from Fairfax to set me at libertie, I giveing my paroll to goe beyond seas, and not to returne to any of the three kingdomes for a yeare, bot not one word of money. I am presentlie taken out of my prison house, my guards removed, and I accommoded in that inne where first we were lodged when we came to Hull ; the best inne of the toune.

The nixt day I went to Overton, both to give him my reall thankes for this superlative favour, as also to know what he wold appoint me to give the widow and Mr Cleark ; for thogh there was mention made of none of them in his Generalls order, yet I intended not to be ungrate, or omit to pay that duetie I owed to both. He askd me what I wold bestow on each of them ? I told him, fiftie pounds on the widow, and ten on Mr Cleark. He replyd it was too much, and therfor he wold save me fifteene pounds of that soume ; for the widow sould have bot fortie, and Mr Cleark five. This I presentlie payd ; neither wold Overton suffer me to present either himselfe or his ladie with any token of my thankfulnes. This was the most curteous Independent I ever met with. My marshall and his deputes I satisfied so well, that they did not complaine of me. Moneys were furnishd me not onlie for this, bot for all my charges the whole time of my imprisonment, by one Master Key, who that yeare was shrieve of the toune. They were repayd to him by David Wilkie, a merchant of Edinburgh, they tuo haveing beeene well acquainted together in Spaine. Mr Key and

some other honnest Royalists of the toun had given me severall visits, when I was in the Provost Marshalls companie, bot there we might not speake bot before one of my keepers ; bot when I came to lodge in the inne, they and I conversed freely together, to both our great satif- factions.

I resolvd to be gone with the first ship went from Hull, whatever place of Christendome she was bound for, feareing I might be stopyd by some new order. Sixe weeks after, a cloth ship made saile for Hamburg with a convoy of threttie guns. In the convoy were some merchants belonging to that staple, all men for the new Commonwealth. I wold not goe with them, but went in the cloth ship, where one Master Robbifone was master, ane honnest and well principld man. We went doune the Humber, at the mouth wherof we met with a very faire wind, which in foure dayes time put us in the mouth of the Elve ; and as we went up that river, I found a gret change since the time I was there before, about Geluctftad, a toun of the King of Denmarks ; his block houses there, whereby he had exacted toll of all ships that passd, being demolishd, by vertue of ane article of the peace he had made with Sueden, after foure yeares unfortunate warre. That article was made by the instigation of the citie of Hamburg, which had notable affisted the Sueds against their lord and protector the King of Denmark. Tuo days after, we arrivd and landed at that rich and flourishing citie.

Among other favours I receaved from Colonell Overton, Governour of Hull, this was not the leaft, that he permitted me the use of all the bookes the stacioners of that place could afford, for which I payd them money weeklie ; and, which I valued more, he allowd me the use of pen,

paper and inke ; which were tuo very comfortable and profitable diversifements to me in that affliction. Heere it was where I wrote some collections of the state of Europe, from the yeare 1618, that the dreadfull comet appeared, till the year 1638, that the Scots Covenant appeared in the world, which produced as sad and lamentable effects as that comet did. Heere I wrote also [some] essays and discourses, and that with so much confidence and freedome, as if I had beene at my full libertie, that I am sure if Overton had perusd them, he had found so much spoke to the disadvantage of his masters of the new Commonwealth, that he wold have given a strop to my releasement. Bot he sufferd me to cary all my papers with me untouchd and unseene by himselfe or any other. And so I tooke my leave of him, and of Hull also, in the beginning of November 1649, after I had beene prisoner fourteene months or thereby.

MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES TURNER;

PART SECOND,

**WHEREIN ARE CONTAINED
THE REMARKABLE PASSAGES OF HIS LIFE
FROM HIS RELEASEMENT OUT OF PRISON AT HULL,
IN OCTOBER 1649, TILL NOVEMBER 1663.**

SIR JAMES TURNER'S MEMOIRS.

WHEN I arrivd at Hamburg out of Hull in November of the year 1649, I found a number of Scotch gentlemen who either had servd the late King, or intended to serve the present one, attending the orders and motions of the famous Marquesse of Montrose ; who haveing trusted too much to Vlefeld the Great Steuart of Denmarks promises of affistance, found himselfe disappointed by that faithles minister of estate, who afterwarde went faire to betray both his prince and countrey. This obliged the Marques to retire himselfe to Gottenburg in the Suedish dominions, where he was underhand supported, bot very inconsiderablie, by the great Queene Christina. If I had beene provided then with moneys, without which I could put myselfe in no equippage, I had runne the hazard of goeing to Scotland with the rest who accompanied the Marquesse, shortlie after, in that last missfortunate and fatall expedition of his. Bot I could be master of no money till I came to Holland ; and therfor by my letter offerd my service to my Lord Marques, which the Lord Napier was pleasd to send under his couert, and to which I had a very favorable returne, and invitation from the Marques to come to him, writ with his oun hand.

I went by land to Holland, accompanied with Colonell Sibbald, who carried letters from Montrose both to Scotland and Ireland. From Roterdame I wrote with him to my wife at Edinburgh, to furnish him with a considerable peece of money, (for he was not well stored,) which she did ; and he had his heade chodp of not long after at the Crosse of Edinburgh ; so I losd both my friend and my money. My wife, in a stormie and tempestuous winter, gave me a vistite in Holland ; and having furnishd me with what I most stood in need of, returnd with much trouble and danger to Scotland. I pasd the rest of the winter in vistiteing the best places in Holland ; and in March of the yeare 1650, went to Breda to attend the treatie betweene the King and his Scottish subjects ; the issue wherof was a gracieous condiscendence of his Majestie to all or most of their demands ; and with them he went to Scotland, accompanied with severall Lords, who after his arriveall were removd from him, and himselfe so used as I wish posteritie may never know.

I then put on a resolution to goe to Sueden, and under a notion to seeke some arreares were due to me, to see the glorie of the Suedish Court, and the magnificence of Christinas coronation. I arrivd at Elsennure, where finding the wind turne contrare for some days, I alterd my resolution ; and haveing seene the King of Denmark and his Court at Copenhagen, his statelie palace of Frederichsburg, and his strong castle of Cronenburg, I returnd to Holland, after I had endurd a horrible tempest at sea. I intended then to have gone to France, bot the late Earle of Southeske, then Lord Carnegie, persuaded me to accompanie him to Scotland. We landed the very night before Cromwell beate the Scottish armie at Dumbar. My Lord and I found, that the perfecution of these who had assented to, or acted in Duke Hammiltons engagment,

as it was calld, was as hote as ever ; which obliged us that very night to depart the toune, and take up our lodgeing with a gentleman six miles from Aberdeene, where we had landed. My Lord and I parted at his fathers house of Kinnaird.

I went privatlie to Fife, where I had the comfort to meet with my deare wife, who haveing put her best things in the Castle of Edinburgh, and left the rest to their hazard, came and livd with me that winter at Disart.

About this time, the monstrous Remonstrance was hatchd ; and if Lambert had not, by good fortune to us all, beaten Colonell Ker at Hammilton, I beleieve the King had beene just as safe at St Jonston, as his father was at Westminster. The desperate condition of affaires movd some of the best naturd of the Presbyterian cleargie to thinke of some meane, to bring as many hands to fight against the publike enemie as was possible ; and therfor, notwithstanding all their acts of Assemblies and Commissions of the Kirk to the contrare, they declared all capable of charge in State or Militia, who would satissie the Church, by a publike acknowledgment of their repentance for their accession to that sinfull and unlawfull Engadgment. The King commanded all who had a mind to serve him, to follow the Churches direction in this point. Heerupon Duke Hamilton, the Earles of Craufurd and Lauderdaleill, with many others, were admitted to Court, and numbers of officers refaved and put in charge, and entrusted with new levies. My guilt in affronting the Ministrie, (as they calld it) in the person of Mr Dick at Glaſgow, and my other command in the West, retarded my admision very long ; bot at length I am absolved, and made Adjutant Generall of the Foot ; and after the misfortunate renconter at Innerkeithen,

had once more Lieutenant Generall Holburns regiment given me by his Majesties command.

Behold a fearfull sinne ! The Ministers of the Gospell refavd all our repentances as unfained, thogh they knew well enough they were bot counterfeit ; and we on the other hand made no scruple to declare that Engadgment to be unlaufful and sinfull, deceitfullie speakeing against the dictates of our ounе consciences and judgments. If this was not to mocke the allknoweing and allfeeing God to his face, then I declare myselfe not to know what a fearfull sinne hypocrisie is.

The defeate of that part of the armie at Innerkeithen, Cromwells march with most of his forces to St Jonston, whereby he cut of all succourse of men and meate from the North, obliged the King, with the advice of the Committee of Estates, to lay present hold on occasion to leave the rebell behind him, and march with his whole armie from Stirline into England. The horse and dragoons might be about foure thousand ; and the foot, as I reckond them that day we marchd from Stirline parke, were upwards of nine thousand. A traine of artillerie of some field peeces and leather canon we had, with suteable amunition, under the conduct of Sir James Wemis Generall of the Artillerie. We got quicklie to English ground, bot with a great deale of mischiefe to all these poore Scotch people by whose dwellings we marchd, robbing and plundering being used by the sojors, even to admiration and inhumanitie. Neere to Carlile, the King is proclaimd King of England and Ireland, with the great acclamations of the armie ; and severe commands made against all other robberies, plunderings and exactions ; which being put in execution by hanging tuo or three, were well enough obſerved, and very good order and discipline keepd the whole march.

I will not amuse my selfe to relate all the particulars, circumstances, or miscarieages of this unfortunate expedition, my intention being to speake of what befell my selfe till this present yeare of God. In that armie I was Colonell of foot, and Adjutant Generall ; and with no better fortune then I had when I exercd these charges in the yeare 1648.

Lambert and Harriesone being beaten from Warinton bridge, and all their Cheshire foot chacd away from them, the King declind to march straight to London, from which upon his approach it was thought the Parliament wold have removd to Windsor ; and so we went straight to Worcester, where we lay till Cromwell came and facd us ; and after three or foure days respite, in which time he ga- therd a great bodie of the countrey traind bands, to the number of five and tuentie thoufand at leaft, besides his veteran armie ; and then he forced us to fight on the third day of September, with a great deale of disadvantage both for ground and numbers, bot with much greater missfortune.

Heere was the gros of the royll armie routed ; some great officers escapd, and three thousand horse with them ; which bodie might have, no doubt, made a second warre in Scotland, bot falling in peeces by bad conduct, they came everie mothers sonne in the pouer of the ene- mie. His Majeftie, by the good hand of God, escapd safelie, and was preservd to be a blessing to his three kingdomes. The manner how, and what way he got out of England to France, notwithstanding all the means the rebels usd to get him in their pouer, may be seene in the historie of his life written by Edward Philips.

Many thousands were carried away prisoners to London, to give

the people ane assured demonstration of Cromwells unquestionable victorie. Among the rest I was one. At or neere Oxford, the Marshall Generall (who indeed was as civill as a man of his charge could be,) exacted from the Lords, Officers and Gentlemen, who were prisoners, a parole and revese signd with their hands, to be faithfull prisoners, which most of all willinglie did ; bot Generall Dalyell, and Lieutenant Generall Drummond knouing I intended to endeavour my escape, refused to signe, least I, being the onlie person that wold not subscribe it, might have beene the worse used. The second night of our stay at Oxford, with the helpe of our hoste, a barger, a barbour, and a shoemaker, I got out of the top of the house, and thorough ane other voyd house, escapeing all our guards both of horse and foot, not without obstructions and some merrie passages, the memorie wherof was afterwards pleasant, thogh then I runne twice the neere hazard of breakeing my necke. I lay tuo days and nights in the garret of a new house, which had neither doore nor window in it. The search, which was not very strict, being over, and the prisoners with their guards prettie well advanced touards London, I creepd out of my retreate, and in a very pitiefull disguise, accompanied with halfe a dozen of watermen, (who had all served the late King as foyors,) tooke my journey straight to London. The first day I walkd afoot to Morley, which was tuentie miles from Oxford ; but my feet were so spoiled with the clouted shooes which I wore, and myself so wearie, that my companions were forced to carry me almost the last tuo miles. Lustie, strong and loyall fellows they were, bot extreamlie debauchd. They misd not one alehouse in the way, and my payng for all the ale and beere they dranke (for I thanke God they wold drinke no wine,) did not at all

trouble me ; but it was a vexation to me to drinke cup for cup with them, els they shoulde have had no good opinion of me, and to them I was necessitated to reveale my selfe, my honnest barger goeing before us all the way a horsebacke, and so serving us for a scout. At Morley I hird ane old carkasse of a horse from a knaveish old fellow, who made himselfe exceeding merrie with me, jeering me verie broadlie ; and indeed I was in so wofull a plight that I was ridiculous enough, neither could any man have conceavd that ever I had beene ane officer in any armie of the world. On horsebacke I came from Bramford, thretteene miles from Morley, and seven from London, and rode thorough at leafte tuo hundred red coates that had convoyd my countreymen to Titlefield ; bot was well seconded in passing them by my trustie comrades, the watermen. At Bramford I tooke oares, and in the night time landed at Westminster staires, which I had never seene ; for I came in ane evill houre to London, where I had never beene before. I was lodgd that night with ane honnest Welchman, to whom my barger revealde what I was, that he might make me knoune to some of the Royal lpartie, for I had no acquaintances in that great citie.

After I had reposed my selfe tuo days, wherof I stood in great need, some clothes, linnens and a litle money, were sent me by three honnest men, and brought to me by my hoste. The clothes I accepted, bot refusd the money, and nixt night I was brought by water to the citie, to the three gentlemen who had sent me so sure tokens of their kindnes, and whom I had never seene all my life before. Three loyall persons they were, who, after they had made themselvs knoune to me, they desyred a particular rehearseall of the King's misfortunate expedition, and his losse at Worcester; which they heard with as grieved hearts

as I related it. They thought it fit to lodge me in a publike inne within the citie, and entrusted me to the care of the drawer, who was both ane honest and ane understanding fellow. That house I changed, and so did I many others, till I lighted on the house of ane honnest widow, who had no creature in the house with her bot her oun daughter ; and there indeed I was as secure as if I had beene in my mothers house. Severall appointments were made betweene my three noble friends and me, and all punctuallie keepd. Their kindnes I can never forget, unles I intend to accuse myselfe of the highest ingratitude. They entrusted me with a message to the King, wherin his Majestie was neerlie concernd, which I faithfullie deliverd to him at Paris.

Immediatlie after the first time I had spoke with these three Royalists, I went back to Westminster, to take my leave of my honnest barger and watermen, who had by that time ended their busienes ; for the watermen were led as witnessses of a ryot, alledged to have beene committed by the barger, and if the matter was referd to their oath, I need not doubt bot he was affoyld, let his guilt be what it wold. I was given out all the way from Oxford to be a witnessse also ; I was borne in a countrey village in Oxfordshire, where I had never seene or learnt any good manners or breeding ; and I was called Richard, or Dicke ; bot I changed that and five or six more names before I got out of London. After I had drunke a dozen of beare with them, I offerd everie one of them a tuentie shilling peece of gold as a token of my thankfullnes, bot I could not for my heart persuade any of them to take it ; onlie I movd each of them to take halfe a croune, wherwith they said they wold drinke my health in their returne to Oxford ; and so after many embraces we parted. The like honestie I met with at Oxford before ;

for neither my barbour nor shoomaker wold, for any intreatie of mine, take either gold or moneys from me ; bot they tore away all the ribbands that were on my clothes, and said they wold weare them till the Kings restoration, which they said they were fure wold be nixt yeare. Colonell Prides sonne haveing given me faire quarter when he tooke me, I had favd some of my gold ; and when I made my escape, Generall Dalyell had lent me ten peeces, one wherof I gave to my hostesse at Oxford, when she lighted me to the garret of her houſe ; ane other I gave to the bargers wife as a token. Sixe I spent in my tuo days journey to London ; the rest maintaind me well enough till I was supplyd out of Scotland.

When I went abroad, I did it either by coach or water ; for the streets were full of Scotsmen, especiallie fojors, who might have wrongd me with unseasonable kindnes. For the most part I keepd my chamber ; and then I had time and leisure enough to reflect on the deploable condition of the King and all the Royall familie, of the three kingdomes, especiallie my native countrey of Scotland, now reduced to a province by the most insolent of Rebells. But, *proximus esto tibi* is so true a saying, and so agreeable to mother Nature, that and therefore I seriouslie confidered the evill aspect of my ounē particular affaires, the many tryalls and afflictions I had met with in the course of my life, and what a great one I had now to wrastle with, my wife haveing beene in Dundee when it was taken, a world of blood spilt in it, the tounе fackd and plunderd. This I knew at Oxford, but did not, nor could not, learne what had becomd of my deare wife, till three weeks after my comeing to London ; and then I was certainlie informed that she had favd nothing of all the had of moneys,

clothes and mooveables, except the cloths she had upon her ; bot that her life wes saved, and that she was returned on foot to Difart. I was exceedinglie comforted to heare that her life was given to us as a prey, for which mercy I blesd God. The misfortune of dolefull Dundee fell on the first day of September, and ours in England on the third therof. My wife and I, by our mutuall letters, understanding of each others welfare, I recommended her to the divine Providence, who in his oune good time wold bring us together againe.

I durst not hazard to goe out of England, till it was knoune that his Majestie was safelie arrivd at Paris. The search then not being so strict, I resolved to be gone either for Holland or France. I had keepd a constant correspondence with Lieutenant Generall Middleton, then prisoner in the Toure, by Major Strachan, now Sir John Strachan. I still assurd him, for my intelligence by my English friends was very good, that his life wold be taken, so soone as he was cured of a shot he had reſſavd in his bodie ; and therfor had layd doune three ways for his escape ; one of them being by a false key to open his chamber doore (whill Strachan ſould be drinking with the keeper in ane alehouse,) and disguised in a blacke ſute of apparrell, with a periwig of red haire, to walke at all leifer out of the Toure, accompanied with Captaine Hay, (who was bot ſlenderlie rewarded for this faithfull ſervice,) and ſo ſould goe to the lodgeing I had provided for him. This way, I ſay, was that wherby he obtaind his libertie. The preſtence they had to put him to death was, that he had broke his parole in escapeing out of prison at Berwick, as they alledged. He pretending not to be guiltie of this alledged crime, his neeref friends not feareing his life, prevaild with him not to hazard the losſe of his estate in Scot-

land, which wold be assuredlie forfeited if he broke out of prison. Upon this advice he sent me a message by Major Strachan, shouing me his resolutions, and desird me to put myselfe to no further hazard for him, bot be gone as soone as I could to the King. He sent me a memoriall of what I was to say to the King from him, as also to all his friends at Paris. I was trulie sorry to see him so easilie perswaded to put his life in so needles a hazard ; bot seeing my stay was to no purpose, I prepar'd to make my escape out of England, as I had done out of Oxford. To this did exceedinglie help me, a passe which one Mr Harrie Knox, ane expectant minister, had got by the Countesse of Devonshires meanes, from the pretended Councell of State. He altering his resolution of goeing to France, gave me the passe ; and after I had stayd three or foure nights with a sister of mine in Kentshire, I came to Dover, accompanied with one Master Simfone, a brother of my brother in laws. I was more strictlie lookd to and examind then was ordinarie ; and one James Tours, a Scotsman duelling there, was brought to see and speake with me. He was like to undoe me with questions. I found it was necessare to try his honestie ; for imprisonment was the worst could befall me, haveing never broke either word or writ ; for I thinke faith should be keepd to the worst of men. Whill the Governor Colonell Temple was boweing his heade to spit, I gave Mr Tours a signe wherby he might soone know I was not the true Mr Harie Knox. He provd ane honest man, and indeed savd me, by not putting me to answere any more hard interrogatories. In a word, Colonell Temple could find me neither gentleman, minister, sojour, or merchand ; bot a servant to the old Earle of Morton, which James Tours knew well enough to be a ly.

.. The matter was this. Middleton had escapd out of the Toure the day before, and these at Dover haveing never feene him, and tuo hundred pounds being offerd to any that could find him out, wold needs have me to be him. Bot being cleard of that very grosse errore by Mr Tours, I was fufferd to passe with the packet boate. My Ladie Middleton haveing found by some discourses with Sir Arthur Hafelrig, and Lamberts ladie, the truth of that I had so often averd, that they intended to put her husband to death, advisd him to fly and save his life ; which he did, as I shew a litle before. I had acquainted Major Strachan with the mistres of my house, and she promisd to make the guest I entrusted to her very wellcome ; and safe enough he was all the time he stayd in London, thogh the search was strict enough was made for him. He pasd under the name of Master Andersone, and Major Strachan was at that time Andro Reid. I had entrusted none bot him, my brother in law, and the mistres of the house with the secret.

I had a letter to the King from the imprisond ministers, Middletons Memorall, and some other papers of concernment, all which I clofd by way of packet in a sheet of paper, and gave them to James Tours to put in the boxe. They were directed to " Jacques Broune à Calais ;" for I was to have that name at Paris, and all letters to me to be directed so. Nixt day when I arrivd at Calais, I went to the post house and paid eight sous for my owne packet. I had imparted to Mr Simfone Middletons escape, what hand and concern I had in it, conjurd him to haste to London, assureing him he wold find him at my old lodgeing ; and withall I gave him my passe to carry him, which might serve Middleton to good use, provided he did not touch at Dover, which I beseechd him not to doe. Master Simfone went away

that night, after he had seene me boated, found Middleton in the appointed place, and did him very great service ; and indeed was the man that lodgd him at his fathers house in the countrey, five or sixe days, till he had agreed with a boate to carry him to France. Bot the master haveing got foure pounds in earnest, cheated them ; yet Master Simfone prepared and agreed with ane other vessell, the master wheroft proveing honest, landed Middleton and Major Strachan safelie in Normandie.

I made short stay at Calais, goeing with the first messenger, day and night, in a pitifull cold season, to Paris ; where, haveing kisid the Kings hands, I deliverd all my messages to him. I was graciouslye receyved by his Majestie, and wellcomd by all my friends and acquaintances. Not long after, Lieutenant Generall Middleton arrivd, who sent for me before his comeing was knowne. I stayd a night with him, and next day brought my Lord Neuburgh to him, and the day after that, he went to Court at the Louver, where he had a most gracieous reception from his Majestie, and a heartie wellcome of all attended him. The Marques of Ormond, and Sir Edward Hide, then Chanclor of the Exchequer, made up a knot of friendship with him, which I believe be yet to unty. This was displeasing to many who lovd none of those tuo ; for even then was this litle Court divided into factions and frations.

Within a few weeks after his comeing, I retird to a private house in the faubourg or suburbe of Saint Antonie, from the companie of all my countreymen, that I might learne some French ; the readeing, wri-ting, and understandeing which language I had, without any other helpe bot that of a grammar and dictionarie, studied during my impri-

fonment at Hull in the yeare 1649. Heere I stayd ten or tuelve weeks, till both the King of France and the Prince of Condes armes drawing neere that place where I lodged, made me retire into the Citie ; bot not before I saw the Prince his forces, after a stout resistance, beaten into the Port of Saint Anthoine ; which being shut, they had in all probabilitie beene sacrificed to Cardinal Mazarinis just revenge, if the Duke of Orleans had not forced the gunners of the Bastile to discharge all their canon against his master and nephew the King of France, who was personallie present with his armie ; and that his daughter Madamoiselle, had not, with her viragolike presence and eloquence, cajold the burgeses guards so well, that without consent of the magistrats, they opend the port, and sufferd the Prince and the forces he had with him to march thorough the citie, and crosse the river of Sein at the New bridge.

Before this, the Archduke Leopold, taking his advantage, whill the King of France his fuord is draune in his oun defence against the neerest Princes of his blood, marchd to Eftampes, five leagues from Paris, yet did no great feats. Charles Duke of Lorraine marchd also with a flying armie of ten thoufand men to Charenton, tuo leagues from Paris, with a resolution to joyne with the Princes. Him Marshall Turenne facd ; bot whill they prepare to fight, the King of Great Britaine mediats a truce, and obtaines it, by which the Duke was obliged to march speedilie out of France, and not to returne to it for fourteene days ; and so the Lorrainer marchd backe againe, plundering all before him according to his custome. This good office done to the French King, procurd to ours the evill will and hatred of his neerest kinred ; for indeed it ruind the Prince of Conde, and it stird

up against his Majesty the populace, who breathd nothing so much as the destruction of Mazarini ; even so farre as it was not safe for the King to entrust himselfe longer in the Louver, or for his followers to stay longer in Paris. The Palace of St Germans in the Lay is by the King of France his command provided for him. Thither he goes with the Queene his mother, and his sister Princesse Henrietta ; for the Duke of Yorke before that, had gone to Mareschalle Turenne to look after adventures, and perfite the skill he allreadie had in the militarie art. Most of these who attended the Court followd him ; and I accompa-
nied thither General Middlestone. We went by boate, and in great danger of robbers and voleurs, the river being but narrow, and the tuo armies on both fides of it. He had, a litle before that, got a commision to be Captaine Generall of all his Majesties forces in the kingdome of Scotland ; and he was to haften to Holland and other places, where he might expect any affistance of moneys from well affectionate Scotsmen, wherwith to provide armes and ammunition for these who were allreadie afoot for the King in the Hielands.

I was appointed by him to goe to the Low Countreys before him, and waite his comeing at the Haag ; bot I was necessitated to stay till the true Master Harie Knox (who had beene sent with letters to the King from the prisoners in the Touer) was dispatchd ; and that could not be done in a short time, being some of the prisoners, and the Chieffes of these who were in armes in the hills, wold be satifified with no letters bot such as were all writ with the Kings oun hand. He being dispatchd, and I haveing kisid the Kings hands, Sir Johne Keith, brother to the Earle Marshall, David Ramsay, Mr Knox and I, made a pleasant journey in the beginning of September 1652 to Rowen, where I had a

care to see Mr Haries papers so well packd up in shooes and slippers, that they were bot in small hazard of any discoverie. He went for England, and deliverd all his letters and instructions, many of which were sent to the hills, bot neither in one place or other did these papers, which the King had writ with so much trouble, produce the wished effect of union, bot in the contrare disunited men of one interest ; which may be imputed to the perfidieous wrong superscriptions, interlineings and misdeliveries of his Majesties letters ; all which the late Chanclor of England, the Earle of Clarenden, did in the yeare 1660, a little before the King was proclaimed in England, in a long discourse with me at Breda, lay at my Lord Balcarris doore, how trulie, I shall not judge.

Sir Johne Keith and I went from Rouen by land to Diepe, from that by sea to Calais, where finding a little vessell readie bound for Flushing, we embarked that night. Nixt morning, passing by Dunkirke, we were examind by ane Admirall of a Spanish fleet, which keepd that toune blockd up by sea. There we saw tuo great guns fire often from a batterie at land against the toune ; for Leopold haveing taken Graveline, had besiegd Dunkerke also, then keepd by the French. It was not long after surrenderd to him, wherin the English were very instrumentall ; for the Duke of Vendosme being sent by the French King with a strong navie, in which he carried recruits of men, moneys, victualls and ammunition, the English, farre too strong, set upon him, and carried his fleet to England ; and after Dunkirk had yeelded to the Spaniard, they released the ships, and landed all their men in French ground.

Sir Johne Keith and I being dismisd by the Spanish Admiral, landed

that night at Flushing. From thence we went to Roterdame, where we found my Ladie Middleton with much longing expecting her husband. She had her brother with her, Major Durhame, afterwards a titular Colonell, Sir Alexander Durhame, and Lyon King of Armes. When I was at Amsterdame about some particular busines, my Ladie had a message from Breda, that her husband the Generall was arrived there, very sick of a tertian. She went thither; and not long after, I came to him at that same place. Within a month he was in a capacie to make dispatches; and I was sent with a commission from him, and many letters from the King, to some places in Low Germanie, to seeke the assistance of such Scotch gentlemen as I had formerlie been acquainted with in the German warre. In all these journeys, I was my oun purfemaister; and spending my oun, I found myselfe countable to no man. I began my journey the first of November, 1652; a very bad time of the yeare to travell day and night with a poste. In Februare nixt I returnd to the Generall, bringing with me fifteene hundredth dollars. In Aprile 1653, I was sent backe to some other places; and that summer I reffaved three thousand foure hundredth dollars, which I sent to the Generall by bill of exchange, retaining for my charges so much as he was please to allow me. What I had done encouragd him to send his brother in law, Durhame, to Sueden; where our countrymen contributed for the Kings assistance about seven or eight thousand dollars, besides what was got in Holland from well-affected Scotsmen there, and five thousand guldens which the Princeffe Royall advanced.

That summer I desir'd my wife to give me a vifite in a ftrange land once more, and to meet me at Bremen, which she readilie did, and in

June arrivd safelie there ; the which meeting, after all these traverses, was exceeding comfortable to me. I could not learne what keepd the Generall so long in Holland ; waiting whose orders, I stayd still at Bremen with my wife, not onlie all that summer and harvest, bot nixt winter also. I had advisd him to give no commissions till he came to the hills, that everie mans merite might be cognosed on. This he faithfullie promisd, bot forgot it ; for he gave bot too many, and among others, one was sent to me, to exerce the same charges I had at Worcester, which I accepted.

In Februare 1654, the Generall made saile from Amsterdame to Cathenes, accompanied with my Lord Napier, Sir George Monro, Generall Dalyell, and Lieutenant Generall Drummond, and many other gentlemen ; and though he had promisd to fend for me, that I might goe along with him, yet he did it not, bot wrote to me to follow him. In Aprile nixt I entrusted myselfe to ane honest skipper, who livd in Bremen, bot had beene borne in Scotland. I resolvd to goe with him to Norway, where he was to take in a loadeing of timber, and from thence to Fife ; and so cast myselfe on Providence, it not being possible for me to forsee how I could get to the hills from that place. After tuentie days tempestuous voyage at sea, we arrivd at Norway ; and after a months stay there, we went againe to sea, and on the ninth day came to the coast of Fife. I went ashore beside Enster, in the night time, being then in June. I sufferd the skipper to take all my clothes, pistolls, carabines and faddles with him, all which he burried under ground at Culros. After some privat stay in Fife, I was fur-nishd with tuo indifferent good horses, by tuo noble and loyall gentlemen ; and haveing got most of my things with great hazard and diffi-

cultie out of Culros, and meeting with five or sixe officers of the armie, (for so they calld themselvs) I went to the hilles as farre as Locherne, where I met with some others, who pretended to a great desire they had to be with the armie. I encouragd them much to so loyall ane action, bot found it was not their earnest ; for they did bot leade me up and doune the countrey, without ever draueing neere the armie ; which they might easilie have done, it being then at the heade of Loch Tay, from whence it removeing, and Monck following, it was never possible for me afterwards to come to it.

A guarrison of English, both foot and horse, lying at Drummond Castle, I lurkd some time about Locherne, with very much danger ; and at that time, I had the bad fortune to see numbers of horfmen which belongd to the Kings armie passe that way, seekeing to get to their severall homes ; haveing taken a libertie to themselvs to disband, after ane unhappy rencounter at Lochgarie betueene Generall Middle-tone and Morgan, wherein the royall partie was worsted, bot with the losse of very few men. I spoke with most of these horfmen, and found they were all willing to continue in the service, if their horses were put in case, who were all pitifullie beaten, and that they had put themselvs in some better equippage, which indeed I saw to be as bad as could well be imagind. Upon consideration heerof, I wrote to the Earle of Glencairden, who haveing done some handsome things before Middle-tones arriveall, had acquird the affection of both the countrey and soldierie, bot upon some dissatiffaction given him, had left the Generall, and retird himselfe with some Lords and Gentlemen, to the Ile of Makfarlen. I sent my letter (a copie wherof I keepd, and yet doth) by a trustie hielander. In it, I adjurd his Lordship by all that was

or could be deare to him, to appoint a rendevous for these dispersed troopers, if he pleasd, three weeks after the date of the letter ; assuring him they wold punctuallie keepe it, as men who were very readie to obey all his orders ; and withall offerd my service in it, or any thing els wherin he conceavd me able to advance the grand designe of his Majesties service. I ressaved his ansuere, which did not at all please me ; for by it my Lord told me, he could doe none of these things I desird him ; being he was layd aside as useles to the King or his service ; with some other expressions of ressentment of the injuries had beene done him. This made me sensible that the Kings affaires in that countrey were all out of frame, and made me conclude it necessare, that he who was most concernd ought to know his oun condition, and that it could be represented to him by no fitter person than myselfe, who I found could doe him no good where I was. And heerupon I put on a resolution to get out of Scotland as soone as I could.

To this purpose of mine, a faire occasion offerd it selfe. One Menyies, a lieutenant of horse, had about eighteene or tuentie troopers, and a trumpeter, with him ; and these five officers who came with me out of Fife, stucke still close to me. All of them haveing intelligence that there was 200 paire of pistolls in a house of Kircaldie, they had some thoughts of goeing thither to make a purchase of them. When they had communicated the matter to me, I fullie persuaded them to give it the hazard. On our second days march, we came to ane alehouse in Glendeven, where they conferd the command of the partie on me. There being good ale there, I causd them all drinke lustilie, and payd for the breuvage, a thing not usuall at that time in these parts. Haveing given the word and signe, I march before with my five officers,

and my servant, inverting the ordinare custome of *enfans perdus*, or forlorne hopes, and orderd Menyies to follow at a litle distane with the rest. It was touards the evening, and I had not rode a full mile, when I discoverd a partie of above threttie well mounted men of the enemie, Scots and English. By providence I had on both my hands tuo little riseing hills, betweene which I tooke my place with my officers, the enemie being below me in no good rideing ground. I resolvd to reffave his charge; bot I sent my servant immediatlie to Menyies, commanding him to gallop up with his partie, and to cause his trumpet sound a charge all the way. The enemie and I had trifled away the time with inquireing for whom we were, thogh both of us knew we were not one for ane other. At length, when I heard our trumpet, I bid one of my officers tell we were for God and King Charles, and cryd aloud myselfe, that English sould have quarter, bot Scots none; and so charged. On our side no pistoll was discharged bot mine, all the rest being unfixed; on the other, one carabine and a pistoll, which last was shot at me. The enemie runne baselie, and my partie purfud eagerlie, Menyeis being a man stout enough and well mounted. After we had purfued by the helpe of the moone about a mile and a halfe, I causd found a retreat. Sixe of the enemie were killd, and foure taken; to one wherof, Jonston, a Scot, bot borne in Ireland, I had given quarter, Menyeis unworthilie killd in cold blood. He cravd me pardon for it; I desird him to beg Gods pardon for so unchristian ane action, and so pasd it, becaus I durst not challenge it. The mischiefe was, he made his peace shortlie after with the English governour of Sainct Jonston, and fuore to him that he had killd that poore man by my order, haveing said no Scot sould have quarter; for which the English

vowd to cut me in peeces where ever they found me. That night, we refreshd in the wood of Kincairden ; neither did I think it at all fitting for my partie to pursue their designe of Kircaldie, or me my intention to get into Fife. I was that night divested of my command ; neither could I by any intreatie move Menyies to march quicklie to the hills, knouing these of Falkland and Brunt Iland wold be quicklie after us, and these of St Jonston might be before us. The truth is, he had a localitie therabout, and looking more after money than men from the countrey people, he protracted the time so long as the English gave us the chace. Menyies wold have beene at killing the other three prisoners, whom partlie with intreatie, and partlie with horrible threatnings of ane after revenge, I saved ; they crying still to me to keepe parole to them, and had learnd well enough, thogh against my will, both my name and charge.

After this, I shifted myselfe from these plundering fellows, and having put away both my horses and my arms, except one shourt fword, I resolvd to get into Fife all alone, sending my servant away a foot clothd as a countrey fellow. The first night I was kindlie entertaind at supper by my Ladie Breko and her sonne. He went to take up his bed, as he used, in the mos ; and I went on in my travells with a guide. The second night, the moone being eclipsed, I never in all my life felt or saw so sad and so heavie a raine, nor so palpable a darke night, thogh in the midst of August. My poore guide, who was honnest enough, mistakeing his way, as it was no wonder, brought me in a mosse, in which he, my horse and I were well neere dround. After much tumbling, we got out ; bot he, who at best was scarfe halfe witted, grew allmost distracted with feare, not apprehending the true reason

of so great a darknes and raine. My feare was, that his feare sould make him disert me, and therfor I comforted him, ever and anone putting a shilling in his hand, and promiseing him greater matters. My confidence brought him a litle to himselfe; bot I was glad when I movd him to laugh, by telling him that he needed not feare the white collor of my horse, which, when I met with him, he said wold make me discernable in the night time; "for," said I, "the mosse hath made him, you and me so blacke, that we may passe for blackamores." The poore fellow brought me at length to ane honnest mans house, and there he left me, after I had, to his oun thinking, overrewarded him for his nights sad turmoile. This honnest man brought me, a litle before day, to a friends house, where I desird to be. There I repold tuo days; and after ten days longer sojourning with some others, I got to Enster, where I found ane honnest skipper bound for Ostend. After I had lurkd foure days at ane honnest mans house in that litle toune, I embarkd, and with a faire wind in three days time arrivd at Ostend; being as glad to get out of Scotland as I was three years before to get out of England.

After I had viewd that strong place, famous for the three yeares siege it stood out against the Archduke Albert, I went by Bruges and the Sluce of Flanders to Vlushing; and from thence to Travere, where I was informed by that loyall gentleman, Sir Patrik Drummond, that the King had beene, with his sister the Princeesse Royall, at the Spaw waters, and was then at Aken, the first and antientest Imperiall toune of Germanie, the ordinarie residence of Charles the Great, and famous for its hote bathes; the citie and many places about it, standing above immeasurable, and almost incredible subterraneous fulphu-

reous hote waters, wherby many infirm, lame and diseased persons are cured. I went by Dort to Gorcum, from thence to the Busch. There I took waggon, and passed through the land of Liege to Mastricht. From that strong toun my nixt days journey was to Aken, paying money all the way to the Spanish sojors for my life. I arrivd there the 20th day of September, and rested that night.

Nixt day I addressd myselfe to the Vicount of Neuburgh, who was very loth to beleeve the bad news I told him. Houver he brought me to the King, to whom, after I had kisid his hand, I shew that the losse of men at Lochgarie was not at all considerable ; yet, for all that, the condition of his affaires in that country was bot bad, if the troopers disbanding and discontent of some of the Lords were rightlie considerd. The last of these tuo seemd strange to him, as haveing heard nothing of it before ; bot I offerd to make it appear to him by my Lord Glencairns oun letter. His Majestie seemd to be well satisfied with my freedome, and orderd me to bring the letter to him after dinner, which I did ; bot feareing he wold keepe it, I tooke a perfite copie of it, which I have yet by me. I was admitted to the bedchamber, and none else bot my Lord Neuburgh. So foone as the King lookd upon the letter, he said it was all my Lord Glencairns oun hand. Many discourses he had with me ; he said he wold shortlie send armes and ammunition to his Generall ; he commanded me to waite on my Lord Neuburgh and Chancellour Hide nixt day, and give them ane exact and particular account of all I knew concerning his affaires in Scotland. He told me withall, he wold keepe Glencairns letter, thogh written to me. I told his Majestie, the letter was in the right hand, he being most concerned in it ; and so I was dismisd.

Nixt day in the afternoone, I met the Chanclor and Vicount Newburgh at a convent of Franciscan fryars, and gave them that account the King had commanded me to doe. I found it was good for me I had Glencairns letter to produce, a copie wherof, and of mine to his Lordship, I gave the Chancellor to reade ; for without them, these tuo were apt enough to question the truth of that part of my relation, concerning the misunderstanding betueene the Generall and Glencairne. They wold have it to be onlie betueene that Lord and Sir George Monro. I told them that indeed it beganne betueene these tuo, bot did not end there. The Chanclor then askd me, if I wold not goe where the King thought fit to send me. I replyd, at the Kings command I wold goe to Japan. He merrilie ansuered, Japan wold be out of my way. I told him it could not be out of my way if the King sent me there. Bot perceiveing his designe was to send me back to Scotland with letters, I said I was readie to go, bot it was fit to let his Majestie know before hand, I was a very improper person to employ in ane accommodation of tuo persons, to neither of which I was acceptable ; for Middleton had shoune how small respect he had for me in feveral particulars, which I wolde forbear to speake of. Glencairne, and the other Lords, wold looke on me as a foyor, and so one of those who they thought had cabald together to suppreffe the nobilitie. This was no excuse, bot a certaine and reall truth. After this free language, I was no more desird to goe to the Highlands. A choyce was made of Colonell Borthwick, to carry the Kings pleasure and letters to his Generall, Glencairne and the other Lords. Bot his negociation did the King litle good, and proved exceedinglie misfortunate to himselfe, as his foure yeares imprisonment at Bruges can too well testifie.

I stayd a month in that toune, partlie to see my old acquaintances, whom I knew not when I shoulde see againe; partlie to cure myself of a disease which is epidemicall almost in the place from whence I brought it, the Hielands; I meane the ich or scab, the hote bathes of that citie being excellent for it. Then I got his Majesties passe to goe to Bremen, bot not to leave his service. Haveing kisid his and the Princeffe Royalls hands, and taken my leave at Court, I left Aken the very same day. His Majestie went to Collen, and went backe to Mastricht, with Colonell Borthwick, and George Arnot, at that time page to his Majestie. From thence we went doun the river Mase by boate, to Rurmond and Venlo, and so to Gennep house. There we tooke waggon and went to Nimmeghen, where, after a nights stay together, we parted. I croſd the River of Wall, and by land went to Utrecht, and from thence to Roterdame. I staid ſome time in Holland, and went to the Hag, to give the Queene of Bohemia ane account of my ſummers expedition; and I found it fit to doe ſo; for a report had come to her eares, that in my diſcourses at Aken I had reflected on Generall Middleſtone; and ſhe being a Princeffe who had a kindnes for all Scotsmen, did not love to heare that we ſhould doe one ane other any bad office.

It was now winter, and in the midſt of November, when I beganne my journey from Amfterdame to Bremen. I had a cold and troublefome paſſage of it; bot God be praifd arrivd safelie there in ten days time. There I had the comfort to find my ſweet wife in good health, having myſelfe paſſd the yeare 1654 with as much trouble and anxiety of mind, fatigue of bodie, and danger both at land and ſea, as any yeare I ever paſſd in my life. A little before I went to Scotland, the citie of Bremen had commenced a warre with Count Konighſmark the

Suedish generall in these parts, and had continued it whill I was in Scotland, with varieous succeſſe; bot at the long runne, they were forced, ſhortlie after my returne, to accept of a diſadvantageous peace, after a very chargeable warre. In it they ſurprifd a ſconce called Burg, which the Suedes had taken from them, where Colonell Forbes my thrice noble friend was killd. He was brother to the Lord Forbes, Governour of Stade, a gentleman of much honor, gallantrie and integritie.

I had time enough to reſt myſelfe the whole nixt yeare, 1655. It was then that Charles Gustave king of Sueden, broke the peace with Pole, fiſe yeares before the expiration of it, and invaded that kingdome with a prodigieous ſucceſſe. A paſſe was ſent me by one of his Field Marshalls, Count Wittemberg, at the ſoliciation of ſome of my friends, and ane invitation to come to him, who then had enterd Polonia Major. Bot I knew how diſpleaſing it wold be to the King, that any profeffing loyaltie to him, ſould ſerve a prince who had allied himſelfe ſo ſtrictlie with Cromwell. I excuſd myſelfe for not goeing, bot keepd the paſſe, which yet I have by me. In the ſummer 1655, Generall Dalyell came over to Bremen from Scotland in a diſguife. He told me Lieutenant Generall Drummond was gone to Holland, and that all being loſd in Scotland, Generall Middleſtone would ſhortlie be with the King; and ſo he was, and whill he was at Court, feveral letters paſt betueene him and me. After Dalyell had ſtayd three or foure days with me, he went with the poſte to Amfterdame; neither did I ſee him againe, till his returne from Moſcovia, which was not till ten yeares after.

Nixt harveſt, my wife, intending for Scotland, went a boord of a ſhip, and was full ſeven Dutch leagues on her way from Bremen, when the wind proveing contrarie, by Gods good proviſe, I alterd my re-

solution, and went doun the river of the Weser, and brought her backe, that I might enjoy her company the ensuing winter. This was a great mercy; for that ship wherein she was to goe, after fixe weeks tempestuous tossing at sea, was glade to get backe to the river, pitifullie spoyld, and three of her men dead. Not long after, a very heavie and grievous concatenation of diseases feazed on my wife, which keepd her seven full months; and indeed I had reason to feare the worst; bot by the goodnes of God she was at length restored to health, to my exceeding great joy. In the nixt Spring of the yeare 1656, we found there was a necessitie for me to looke somewhere for a subsistence, and so for us to part for a time. This was a grieve to us both; bot it was our duetie to submit to Gods good pleasure. We resolvd therfor to goe first to Holland, and advice there further; and accordinglie came by sea to Amsterdame, in the beginning of May.

There I found Generall Middlestone, who the yeare before had beene gracieouslie resfaved by the King at Collen. He was then comd to Holland about some affaires. A little before my arriveall, Dalyell and Drummond had shippd for Riga, in order to their journey to Musco. I found the Generall civill enough to me, and after fome faire expostulations on both parts, we were, as I thought, very good friends. The King keepd then his court at Bruges. A kind of league betweene him and the King of Spaine (who had enterd in a mortall warre with the Usurper) being clapd up, many great things were promisid by the Spaniard, few of them performed; yet under him, the king and all his followers had shelter. Thither Middlestone went, and I promisid to follow very soone after.

Finding no passage from Amsterdame to Scotland, I tooke my wife

from thence to Roterdame ; and after a months stay there, and the Haag, I found a good vessell bound for Leith, and in it my wife embarked. William Bruce, now Sir William, and Baronet and Cleark of the Bills, was likewise a passenger ; at which I was glad, knouing he wold doe my wife all the good offices he could. I went with her below the Briell, where with a very sad heart I tooke my leave of her ; finding then how sensible and touching a sorrow it is, to part with a belov'd yoakefellow. I thought this separation of mine from her did too neare resemble death ; for I had no visible ground for any hope to see her againe ; I not being permitted to come to the countrey whither she was goeing, and there being bot small probabilitie that I could expect any fortune so soone as might invite her to come and take a share of it. Bot

Astra regunt homines, sed regit astra Deus :

The starres above governeth men below,
Bot the Allmighty rules the starres, we know.

We put our trust in God, and He, who never deserted these who put their confidence in him, did not disappoint us. She landed safelie, notwithstanding of a storme, and a great many Spanish capers at sea. I had provided my wife, on all hazards, with his Majesties passe, which served well enough against the Spaniards.

I hasted to Bruges, where having kisid the King and Duke of Gloucesters hands, (for the Duke of Yorke was not yet comd from France, thogh dailie expected,) I found the designe to send Generall Middleton to Dantzick and Pole very farre advanced ; and in the beginning of October his dispatches were readie. Great soumes were promised to be

sent to him from Bruxells, for leavieing ane armie there. The King of Poles affection to our King, in hatred to Cromwell, was not to be doubted ; bot affistance of moneys from Scotch merchands in Pole, was bot a speculation. It could not in reason be lookd for, after they had beene so well fleecd foure or five yeares before, by Master Crofts now Lord Crofts. I was appointed to attend the Generall thither ; who tooke also along with him his brother in law Colonell Durhame.

Before we went from Flanders, the King, by permission of Don Juan of Austria, raisd three regiments, one of English, under the Earle of Rochester, formerlie Lord Wilmot ; the second of Scots, under Generall Middlestone ; the third of Irish, under Ormond. Two more were added after, and all were put under the command of his Royall Hienes the Duke of Yorke. All the Captaines were to be Lords, Knights or Colonells ; at least sixteene Captaines were ordered to be of the Scots, wherof I was one. Bot being commanded away with the Generall, I never saw my companie, nor reapd benefite by it, except a hundredth and fiftie guldens.

A little money was advanced to the Generall at Court, which was all well neere spent before we got out of Amsterdame. We stayd so long there that my Lord Neuburgh was sent to haste us away. Sir William Davidstone, now Conservator, agreed with a vessell to transport us. It was loaden with Renish and French wines. He put in also abundance of provisions for our voyage ; and so on the twelfth of November we embarkd, and were a full month at sea in very cold weather, before we got to Elsennure. Five days did scarcie bring us from it to Coppenhagen, thogh it be bot five Dutch leagues ; and there we were frozen in till the midst of Januare. The Generall livd in that

place incognito, which the Spanish Embassador tooke not very well. A thaw comeing on, in three days time we landed at the Mund, a very strong place in the mouth of the Weichfell, a German league from Dantzick. There we found the Suedish Generall Konighfmark close prisoner, who had beene taken at sea, not without suspition of foule play of some of our countreymen under his command. At Dantzick, some of the Scots merchands, especiallie Masters Dumbar and Gallenden, made us wellcome. Numbers of my Lord Cranstouns regiment came over to us, whom we too soone entertaind, haveing libertie from the Magistrats, (who wellcomd and entertaind the Generall with all imaginable civilitie,) to levie privatlie. Seven days before our arriveall, the King of Pole, to our great grief, was gone from Dantzick, where he had winterd three months. The Generall sent his Majesties letter to the King of Pole, by a convoy which was goeing to him. The great Chancellor of Pole wrote to the Generall, and invited him to come to his Master, where he assurd him he sould be very wellcome ; the letter was in Latine. A faire occasion was offerd us of a convoy of five hundredth foot that were to march to the King ; bot the Generall wanting money, we were forced to stay. He wrote some formall excuses to the Chancellor. I was desird to pen the letter in Latine, (for I was all the secretarie he had both for that and the Hie Dutch languages,) and it was shoune to tuo Polonian senators, before it was sent away.

No money being sent from Flanders, and the Generalls and mine being exhausted, we borroued from the Magistrats, and private persons also, more than is yet well payd. That being spent alfo, we were forc'd to disband our sojors, and recommend them to a German Baron, who was levieing for the King of Denmark. Not long after that we were ne-

ceffitated to leave the inne where we lodged, and take up houses apart, where we keepd bot a very forrie menage. Our credite was gone, our moneys were spent, and all we had except our wearing clothes was impauned ; and in that pitifull condition, we breathd rather than livd three months. Many consolotarie letters were writ to the Generall from the Court, bot because in some of his he had expostulated a little for his bad usage, a countreyman of mine did me the good office to informe Chancellor Hide, that I had stird up the Generall to be dissatified with the whole Court. This was most malicieouſlie done ; for I could not have beene so wicked as to blame any about the King for our wants, in regard the Spanish ministers not keeping promise to the King, it was impossible for him to supply us. Middleſtone endeavord to keepe me from knouing this ; bot not haveing ſhoune me the laſt poſtes letters, a thing he did not uſe, I began to ſuſpect there was ſomething in the wind, and I handled the matter ſo with Durhame, that I got it out of him ; which the Generall knouing, he gave me the letter to reade. I told him I wold write to the Chancellor ; and beſeechd him, by his letter, to vindicate me of a crime, he knew best of any man, I was never guiltie of. He promifd to doe it fullie, and was as good as his word. I wrote to the Chancellor, a letter faire enough, yet ſo tart, that he might ſoone know, I was ſenſible enough of the injurie was done me ; to which letter of mine I reſſaved a very faire anſuere, when I was at Coppenhagen ; and in effect, finding himſelf abuſd by his informer, he askd me pardon ; for ſuch are the very words of his letter. After that, I gave him a weeklie account of all the occurrences of Denmark.

After this paſſage, I repreſented to the Generall, how uſeles I was to

him, being all hopes of doeing that we came for, were evanishd, and what time I losd, being the most of Christendome were in action ; I therfor desird him to permit me to goe and offer my service to the King of Denmark. This he granted me, and gave me a very ample testimonie of my faithfullnes and diligence, which I have yet a keeping. About this time, Sir William Davidson had advanced me fiftie dollars, a person who owd me tuentie haveing payd me them, and old Mr Gallenden lending me tuentie more, (which fixe weekes after I honnestlie repayd,) I found myselfe in a condition to supply some wants at Dantzick, and make my voyage to the Sound. I tooke my leave of the foure burgomasters, to all of whom I was very particullarie obliged ; bot I told them I was goeing to Flanders, for further directions to the Generall from his Majestie. The Generall dismisd me with exceeding great kindnes, and many embraces ; and being convoyd to the Mund, by Colonell Durhame, I embarkd for Denmark. Sixe days storme I stood out, and on the seventh, haveing a good wind, I landed towards the evening at Elsennure. There I learnt from the postmaster, who was a Scotsman, the condition of Danish affaires, which was bot bad. I knew before I left Dantzick that the King of Sueden had forsaken Pole, and left Ragoski, the Transilvanian Prince, to his future fortune, and was on his march thorough Cassubbia, Pomerania, Meclenburg, and the territories of Lubeck ; and by that time that I came to Denmark, he had got into Holstein, where, of ane armie of Danes, consisting of sixteene thousand men, not one facd him the whole way ; the Sueds, in derision of the Danes couardise, hanging out lanternes over the steeple of all the villages, to know if therby they might see any to oppose them, sinc with daylight they could see none. To

Coppenhagen I went, where I was made wellcome by the Count of Ribelledo, the Spanish Embassador at that Court, and by him recommended to the Great Stewart, the second person of that kingdome. Bot he haveing gone at that time with the King to Jutland, where both his oun and the enemies forces were, I was forced to travell the whole length of the Ile of Zeland, the greatest of that kingdome ; to crosse the great Belt, a river foure Germane miles broad, which gives the name to the Baltick Sea, and to goe into Funen, where tuo yeares after, the Dane, with the helpe of the Hollander, gave the Sueds a totall defeate ; and at Odensee, the principall toun of that Ile, I found the Court. This Great Stewart, or Grand Maistre, as the French call him, or Reichs Hofmeister, as the Germans name him, made me wellcome, and recommended me to the Secretarie of Estate for Denmark, (for there is ane other for Holstein,) with whom I guided the matter so well, that at the Kings returne to Coppenhagen, I was brought to his prefence. I kisid his hand without kneeling, and offerd him my humble and faithfull service against all his enemies. His Majestie ressavd my compliment gracieouslie, and bad me expect my ansuere from his Secretarie of Estate, whose name was Erich, or Henrie Krag. At this time, the Embassadors of all Christendome were at that Court ; the Imperiall, Spanish, Brandenburger, Polonian, and Muscoviter, folliciting a vigorous prosecution of the warre against their common enemie ; the Sued, the French, English and Hollander, mediating ane accommodation.

Tuo months after my comeing, about the end of October of the yeare 1657, Ulefeld, a Danish Generall in Skonen, being killd, Henrie Lindanaw, one of the Noblesse in that province, was designd to succeed him. To him I was sent, with the Kings order to have a free squadron of

dragoones, and to be Adjutant Generall of his armie. I had the Kings passe for free quarter and wagons. Takeing some Scotch officers along with me, and arriveing at Christianstat, (a skirvie litle toune, bot exceedinglie well fortified,) where Lindanaw was governour, I deliverd him the Kings letter. He orderd a double centrie to be put to the doore of the inne where I lodged, and causd his toune major give me the word. Nixt day he invited me to dinner; and after he had well entertaind me with boules of wine, according to the custome of that countrey, he tooke me aside, and serieouſlie askd me, if I thought that these at Court who sat at the helme of affaires were all in their right wits. I told him it was so ſtrange a queſtione, that, if I offerd to anſuer it, he might trulie ſay, I were out of mine. He ſaid, if they had been ſo wife as they pretended to be, they wold never have offerd to give him a commiſſion to be a Generall, who had never had a hieſt charge then that of a Ritmaster, and this he wold ſhortlie declare to the King himſelfe, as indeed he did. He gave me notwithstanding free quarters to these officers I had brought with me, and keepd them with him, and ſo diſmifd me with much kindnes.

At my returne to Zeland, I met with Major Generall Montgomerie at Elſennure, who had brought recommendatorie letters from our King, and the Queene of Bohemia, to the King of Denmark. He was gracieouſlie reſtaud, and the levieing a regiment of foot offerd to him; which he refuſd, his deſire being to command a regiment of horſe. I tooke my leave of him there; he recommended to me two of his followers, both Montgomeries, whom I ſhortlie after got accommoded in a troope; and ſo the Major Generall ſhipd for Holland, and I returnd to Coppenhagen.

At my comeing, the Secretarie of Estate told me, that he had learnd from Lindanaw himselfe, how needles a journey I had made to Skonen ; bot said withall, that the King intended to give me the levieing of a foot regiment, for the scene of affaires was alterd in my absence. The Sueds had by storme made theimselfs masters of Fredericks Ode, a strong place in Jutland, where they killd and tooke sixe thousand Danes, the reliques of the Holstein armie ; and with them was taken the Fieldmarshall himselfe, very sore wounded, wherof he dyed a few days after ; yet neither his wounds nor his death were able to wipe away the aspersion was cast on him of treason. In that toun, the Danes lost above a hundred braffe canons, and a considerable magazine of amunition and victualls. This considerable losse, and the evill neighbourhoud of so sturring ane enemie, wakend the Danish King and his council out of their dreame. They finding they had bot little reason to trust the natives, farre degenerated from the vigour and courage of the antient Danes, resolved to levie strangers. To that effect, fixe commissions were given out for levieing fixe foot regiments, each of a thousand men, wherof the King bestowd one upon me. I knew well enough how difficult a thing it was to leavie men at that time ; bot perceaving I could not in reason looke for any other employment, I accepted the commiffion. Bot intending to raiſe the halfe of my regiment in Dantzick, I wold only reſſave the halfe of my levie moneys in Holland, then which I never committed ane act of hier follie. Thirteen dollars for each foyor were allowd us, for levie armes and tranſportation. His Majestie cauſd give me a hundred and fifty duckats, to defray my charges the time of my attendance, not to be reckond in my levie money, which I was to reſſave at Amſterdam. It did not

pay the halfe of my expence ; yet it was a gratuitie to which he was not obliged, and therfor refavd by me with all thankfull acknowledgement. Haveing courted the Secretarie of Estate, as a man of his qualitie shoulde be, I kisst the Kings hand, and tooke my leave of the Great Master and Treasorer, who were my noble friends ; then I went to Ribelledo, the King of Spaines Embassador, and returned him my humble thankes for his civilities. I left him in a bad condition ; for he was so plagud with ane universall gout, that, as he told me himselfe, he could sturre no member of his bodie bot tuo, that was his eye and his tongue. I tooke my leave of tuo Jesuits who attended him, who were my good friends, wittie men, and jollie companions. I embarkd at Elfennure in the midst of December, in a vessell bound for Harking in Freisland. A very cold passage I had, bot not very stormie ; and in ten days time I landed at the Uly. From thence I had some difficultie, because of the ice, to get up to Amfterdame.

Letters of recommendation were offered me from the King to the Danish Court, bot I refusd them, not out of vanitie, bot out of pure loyaltie ; for I saw Sir Philip Medows, Cromwells pretended Embassador, refavd at Coppenhagen with so much state and magnificence, (which shewes that England must be courted, be master of it who will,) that I had just reason to feare his Majesties letters shoulde have beene bot little regarded. From Amsterdame I went straight to the Haag, where I shew my commission, capitulation, and orders to Monsieur Rosemving, the Danish Embassador with the Generall Estates, and with some difficultie I procurd from him the halfe of my levie moneys. I capitulated with a Major and three Captaines, and gave them commissions ; but I gave them onlie a third part of my levie money. Whill

all of us are busie setting forward the affaire wherwith we were intrusted, behold, the King of Sueden, in Februarie 1658, passeth his whole armie, horse and foot, over the Belt that separateth Funen from Jutland. The ice was so strong on the whole Baltick coast that winter, and continued so long, that on the 19th day of March therafter, the same King of Sueden carried his whole armie and his great guns over the Sound, over against Malmey in to Skoneñ, on the ice. Being in Funen, he beats the Danish armie there, with very little opposition. He pursues his victorie, passeth over the Ile of Langland, from thence to Laland, and at laist to Zeland, the ice serving him for a bridge all the way. There did the English and Holland Embassadors meet him, who knowing their masters wold not willinglie see Charles Godefave master of the Sound, partlie by entreaties and remonstrances, partlie by threatnings, movd the victorious King to grant peace to the Dane; who bought it by a perpetuall resignation of the faire province of Skonen or Scandia, the Ile of Borholme, the strong castle of Bahouse, and some other places. Assuredlie the King of Sueden repented himselfe afterwards that he did not march straight to Coppenhagen, wherof at that time he could have made himselfe quicklie master; where he might, without stroake of fuord, have got all the magazines of the kingdome, the whole fleet, which was frozen in, and the King with his Queene and whole familie, if they had not fled over the ice to Skonen, and so to Norway. Bot God had determind otherwise.

The Estates of the United Provinces were very angrie with the King of Denmark for makeing that peace, which pure necessitie had forced him to, without their consent, and therfor they discharge our leavies under paine of death, arrests our ships, sets our men ashore, and give-

ing each of them halfe a dollar, bad them goe where they pleased. Such a miserable end had that misfortunate leavie of ours ! Affuredlie in this the Estates did the Danish King a very shreud office ; for if they had sufferd us to finish our leavie, we had carried over 6000 men to Denmark, which undoubtedlie had moved the Sued to quit his resolution of invadeing that kingdome, as nixt summer he did ; for this martiall King falls with a strong armie before Lambes in Zeland, and at one time befeegeth Elfennure and Coppenhagen. The first, after a stout resistance, he takes by accord ; from the other he is beaten with ane exceeding great losse. The Hollanders then perceaves their error, and to make ane amends, they send a strong fleet with their Admirall Opdam, who fights thorough the Suedish navie in the Sound, and victualls Coppenhagen. Nixt yeare, they send ane other fleet with De Rutter, and 2000 foot fojors, under the command of Colonell Killigrew, who affisted the Danes pouerfullie to beate Prince Palatine Sultsbach and his Suedish armie at Neuburg in Funen. The King of Sueden did not long outlive this misfortune, and it is reported, that he was heard say frequentlie on his death bed, " Funen, Funen, tu m'as tué ;" Funen, Funen, thou haft kild me ! So dyed Charles Gustave, who in the short time of his raigne had beene the Boutefew and Incendiarie of Christendome, haveing kindled the flame of warre in a great many parts of it.

Then it was that I found how foolish I had beene in takeing bot the halfe of my levie money ; for my comerads, the other Colonells, who had got all theirs, were never brought to any account at all. It is true, I demanded it from Rosenwing, and he refuseing to pay it, I protested the Kings capitulation with me was broke and violated. We

were entering in a sute of law, bot comeing to tearmes of agreement, we gave it over ; and I requiring my passe from the King, tuo were sent me in haste, one in Danish, the other in Hie Dutch. In the beginning of the yeare 1658, I desird my wife once more to crosse the feas, and come out of Scotland to Holland ; which she readilie doeing, we met happilie, praise be to God for it, at Roterdame, and therafter livd tuo yeares together at the Haag with much content.

Generall Middleton stayd all that winter, after I left him, at Dantzick. Nixt spring as much money was sent him as the King could well spare, wherwith he payd some of his most pressing creditors (for all his debts he could not pay), and bought some horses, and accompanied with Major Murrey, brother to Pomais, and one servant, he travelld thorough severall places of Germanie, and visiting the tuo Electors of Brandenburg and Saxonie, at their oun Courts, he came to our master the King, at Bruxells, where he was gracieouslie reslaved. He was pleaseid to write to me so sooon as he came. In the harvest therafter he left the King, upon what occasion I know not, and went to Amsterdame ; there he stayd all the nixt winter. About that time, his Scottish regiment was given to the Vicount of Neuburgh, Don Juan haveing commanded, that none shoulde have charge bot these who attended it. My companie in that regiment had beene given away, long before that, by the Duke of Yorke, without any injurie to me ; for I could not both attend a companie in Flanders, and a regiment in Denmark. In the summer following of the yeare 1659, Middleton is recalld to Court, many great riseings of the Royall partie in England haveing beene projected, with greate hopes of succeſſe. Bot the time which God had appointed to finish ſoe great a worke not being comd,

they were all blasted ; and Sir George Booths partie, which was the most considerable, being beaten by Lambert, the King with a small traine went to Bayonne, to attend in person the issue of the greate treacie of peace betueene France and Spaine, which that yeare was concluded. The tuo great Ministers of State, Cardinall Mazarini and Lowis de Haro, meeting in the Ile of Pheſants, to caſt that great affaire in a right mould, and therafter at the ſtatiſe enterview of the tuo Potentates themſelvs, a full concluſion was made, and the peace ratified, by the conſummation of a marrieage betueene the King of France and the King of Spaines daughter. Bot obſerve, that what ſould have cemented the agreement betueene theſe tuo crounes tuo yeares agoe, did diſſolve it ; the French King, to vindicate the Queenes right, invadeing the Spanish Netherlands ; to ſo little uſe ſeruſ humane prudence and policie, when a bleſſing from Heaven is denyd to it. Nothing was done for our King at that treacie ; which made him returne to Bruxells, where he found greater grounds of hopes from his own ſubjects, then he had reaſon to expeſt from ſtrangers.

A kind of a warre haueing beene begunne betueene Monck and Lambert, the loyall Lords of Scotland defird Mr Bruce, now Earle of Kin-carden, to goe in their names to the King, (ſince he was to goe to his wife in Holland houſeover), to repreſent to him their loyaltie, to deſire his affiſtance of armes, bot above all, to intreate his Majeftie to impart his royll commands to them, how they ſould demeane themſelvs in ſo great a concerne and exigent. And if they did not in plaine tearmes deſire it, yet their expreſſions ſeemd to import, that they wiſhd his Majeftie wold be pleaſd to name ſome other Generall for them then Middleton. Maſter Bruce told the Lords, he could not agent their

busineses openlie at Court, without running a visible hazard to loose his estate in Scotland, which was considerable; bot with their permission wold employ me, who he conceavd was faithfull, and had nothing to loose at home. They were satissified with his choyce, and after he was comd to the Haag, he broke the matter to me, and found me readie enough to goe about the busines, bot very shie to propone any thing to Middletons prejudice. My wife fell sicke in the meane time; bot being told by a doctor that there was no danger, (which yet did prove otherwise) I went to Bruxells and deliverd Mr Bruce his credentialls to the King and Chanclor Hide, who was then Lord Chanclor of England. I found the King well enough satissified with all the desires of the Scottish Lords, except that of a new Generall. He spoke long to me on that subiect. I offerd in their name to assure his Majestie, that since he had a mind to continue him in his commission, none wold oppose him. Meane while the King prepares privatlie for Breda, and commanded me to goe before him there, and attend him. There he came within three days after, and made wellcome by his sister, the Princesse Royall, and his nephew, the Prince of Orange. It was there where I spoke at full length with my Lord Chanclor concerning Scottish affaires; who told me many stories, and gave me full assureances of his affection to all Scotsmen, whatever had beene said of him to the contrare, and of his particular kindnes to myselfe; bot withall complaind of the unfaithfullnes and falsehood of some of my countreymen, as I have touched before. I told his Lordship I wold not stay a minute longer, unles I knew the King wold approve of my stay at Court, in order to my instructions. He said, he was confident the King wold approve of my negotiation, and that his Majestie had much truft for

me ; bot could not wonder enough, what prejudice the Scottish Lords had against Middletone. Nixt day the King calld me, and told me full as much as my Lord Chancellor had said, and wrote much of it to the Earle of Glencairden in a letter, which he commanded him to communicate to the rest of the loyall Lords.

Bot there was litle need of any agenting any thing at Court, or of a new Generall for the Scots, or yet of armes to be sent to Scotland ; for the Kings restoration, and the means tending to it, were carried on in such a way, and so fast, as himselfe could neither wish nor expect the busienes to be done better. He is proclaimd in all his three kingdomes ; is complimented by the Embassadours of the United States at Breda ; invited to the Haag by the provinces of Holland ; is there royallie and magnifcentlie wellcomd and entertaind ; is congratulated by the Embassadours of all the Princes of Christendome who were at that Court ; his oun fleet is sent to bring him home, with Commissioners from both Houses of Parliament. He embarkes in it, and nixt day lands at Dover, and enters his capitall citie of London triumphantlie, on his birthday, where, at his Banqueting-house, both his Houses made their humble Addresses to him. And all this was done in lesse then tuo months time.

At my returne to the Haag, I found my wife bot weaklie recoverd of a heavie fickenes ; and that obligd me to stay in Holland with her, till it pleasd God she was perfittlie well. Generall Middletone had once more fallen sicke at Breda of a tertian, bot it was of no continuance, so that it hinderd him not to accept of the grace the King offerd, to take him along with him in his oun ship. If he did ressent any thing was movd to the King, to put ane other in his roome, he did not well

to revenge himselfe on me ; for not only my Lord Chanclor, bot the King himselfe cleerd me of haveing any hand in it ; and if himselfe harbourd any evill thoughts of me, he dissembl'd deeplie, for he profed otherwise.

At my comeing to London, I found his pouer greater, bot his kindnes lesse ; I speake this trulie, thogh I intend not to descend to particulars. His Majestie had designd him to be Earle, his Hie Commisioner at his ensueing Parliament of Scotland, Captaine Generall of his forces there, Captaine of his Castle of Edinburgh, Extraordinare Lord of the Session, and to have a troope of horse for his guard. No act of grace or favour conferr'd on any Scot, but what pass'd either thorough his hands, or the Earle of Lauderdaleill ; and thogh formerlie these tuo had beene very intimate friends, yet then the seeds of jealousies betueene them were soun, which brought forth fruits therafter of implacable animosities. Ambition will have the uppermost roome ; great Pompey will endure no equall, and greater Cæsar will acknouledge no superior.

I petitiond the King to remember my faithfull, thogh small services His Majestie bad me tell, to whom I desird he sould have referd the consideration of my busienes. I namd the tuo Earles of Lauderdaleill and Middleton. Lauderdaleill promis'd, whatever Middleton wold project for me in Scotland, he sould get it pas'd by the King in England. It may be ; and I beleeve it, he wold have beene as good as his word ; bot he was never put to it ; for, though, besides all other former services of my oun, my Lord Chanclor of England had, by a letter, very serieouſlie recommended me to Earle Middleton, yet did he never doe, act or propone any thing for me. Tuo things I projected for

myselfe, which so soone as I told him of them, he obtaind a grant of them both to other tuo gentlemen. When I kisid the Kings hand at my parting from Whitehall, in presence of some of the greatest men in England, (except these of the blood), his Majestie exprefd himselfe very gracieouslie towards me, and told me, he had orderd his Commifſioner to provide for me. He conferd Knighthood on me, ane honor trulie never either defervd or defird by me.

I stayd in that condition till August 1662, and then it was that my Lord Commiffioner, by his Majesties exprefſe command, orderd Colo- nell Urrey and myselfe, to raise each of us a companie of foot; the third the King had ordaind for my Lord Clermont, Middletons onlie sonne; bot his father takeing on him to be his tutor, gave the companie to Major Thomſone. Shortlie after, the Duke of Lennox raisd a companie for Dumbarton, and the Earle of Mar ane other for Stirline Castles. All five marchd in September to Glasgow, where my Lord Commiffioner comeing in his progreſſe to the west, he appointed the Earle of Linlithgow to be Lieutenant Colonell of his Majesties guards of foot, and me to be Sergant Major. For what reaſon this was done, will be to little purpose to tell. I had no commission till, a yeare and a halfe after, the King ſent me one.

In the yeare 1663, his Majestie being diſpleaſd with ſome of E. Middletons doeings, appointed E. Rothes to ſucceed him, and to be his Hie Commiffioner at the third Seſſion of Parliament, at the close wheroſt, E. Middletons troop of horſe was caſheered. Towards the latter end of the yeare, the King tooke from him his commission of Captaine Generall, which he gave to none at this time; as alſo his com- miffion of Captaine of Edinburgh Castle; that, he conferd on E. Lau-

derdaill ; and bestowd likewise his place of extraordinarie Lord of the Session on the Archbishop of Glasgow. And this may sufficientlie let us see the lubricitie of Court favours and preferments, the mutabilitie of all sublunar things, and the truth of that a noble French author writes, “ *la montée aux prosperites, est de verre, la cime, tremblement, et la descente un precipice ;*” the ascent to prosperities, sayth he, is of glasse, the top wherof trembles, and the discent is a precipice. It verifieth also, what the Italian poet, Torquato Tasso, sayth,

*A glli voli troppo alti et repentini,
Soglino i precipitii effer vicini.*

Sudden and hie advancements, frequentlie
By precipitous dounfalls followd be.

Yet the King professed still kindnes for him, which he hath witneffed was reall since, in makeing him Governour of Tanger, ane honorable command.

I stayd at Glasgow, quietlie attending my charge, till the yeare 1663; and from it I beginne the narration of what has fince befallen me.

MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES TURNER;

PART THIRD,

CONTAINING A FULL NARRATION OF THE
INSURRECTION IN SCOTLAND
TOWARDS THE LATTER END OF THE YEAR 1666,
AND OF HIS MISFORTUNES FOLLOWING THEREUPON,
TILL THE YEAR 1670.

SIR JAMES TURNER'S MEMOIRS.

IN the beginning of the yeare 1663, ane unhappy quarrell arose betueene the Minister and some of the people of Kirkcubright. It signified bot little; bot makeing a great noyse, the Privie Councell orderd some Lords to goe thither, and some forces with them, under the command of the Earle of Linlithgow, my Lieutenant Colonell, to examine the matter, and to imprison such as they found guiltie of the tumult. Some women were carried to Edinburgh, and keepd some time in the tollbooth; bot by the charitie and bountie of these who were of their persuation, returnd richer home than they came from it. One Ewart, who had beene Provost, was banishd out of Scotland, not because he had any acceffion to the commotion, bot because he did not appease it. By the Kings clemencie, his Act of Banishment was taken of. This inconsiderable and allmost ridiculous tumult, made a great noyse at Court, as if the whole Scots were readie to enter England, with a numerous armie, on the account of the Covenant; wherof some great persons thought to have made their severall uses.

In the latter end of September of that same yeare, one Mr Alexander Robertson, (who was afterward hangd for rebellion) ane expectant minister, tooke on him to open the doores of the church of Anwith,

neere that same toune of Kirkeubright, and preach there to a very great auditorie. Bot thogh upon summons he appeared at Edinburgh, yet the Privie Councell, to prevent such illegall meetings, thought fit to send me to that steuartrie, with threescore men, to be added to the hundredth, whom my Lord Linlithgow had left there under the command of Captaine Ratray, at that time Lieutenant of my companie. Before I came, the Captaine had quarterd some sojors on the most obftinate opposers of the conforme ministers, in the parishes of Corfphairne and Balmaclellan ; and at my comeing, upon bonds for future obedience, the sojors were a removeing. Neither was any fine exacted. If any cesse money was taken by the Captaine, or these he employed, I know not, bot I am sure it was not complaинд of. At the earnest follicitation of the ministers of these tuo parishes, who were both of them exceeding weake brothers, I causd the bonds of their parishioners to be given to them, and they upon faire promises of the parties, very simplie redeliverd them ; and this act of follie gave some ground for my returne to that unhappie countrey. At the desire of the Bishop of Galloway and his finode, I sent threescore of my sojors with Ratray to Stranraer, commonlie calld the Chappell, being the people there were very disorderlie. After I had stayd till neere Candlemes of the yeare 1664, the ministers complaining no more, I left that countrey, as I thought, in a reasonable good way to conforme ; and in Aprile nixt, the whole partie was commanded backe from Kirkeubright to Glasgow ; ane act of the Privie Councell being made to give me thankes for the service I had done.

In the month of March 1665, I was the seconde time commanded to that steuartrie, with a partie consisting of one hundredth and tuentie

foot and threttie horse, to put the laws concerning Church ordinances in execution ; the people haveing beene extreamlie outragieous to their ministers, and disobedient to discipline. I stayd about tuo months in that countrey, and reducd it to ane indifferent good order, by cesserf on fome, and by both cesserf and fineing others, and by faire meanes pre-vaileing with many ; so that most of the Ministers thought, if I had beene permitted to have stayd longer, they might have had fome comfort in their charges, by a tollerable good complyance of their parishioners. Some money I exacted, sparinglie, from thoſe of whose obedience I had hopes ; bot from fuch as the ministers and I judged obſtinate, I tooke fome money, and bonds for all they were found to be dulie owing, as 20s. fcots for everie Lords day they had absented themselves from their parish churches. The bonds were all in Maſter Keith his name, under cleark to the Privie Councell. I affurd the persons who gave the bonds, that upon teſtificates from their feveral Ministers, of their frequenting the church, and diſhaunting conventicles, it was probable their bonds wold be returnd to them for litle or no money at all ; and this I thought fit to ſhow them at parting. After tuo months ftay there, I was orderd to returne to Glaſgow with both horſe and foot, to be employed therafter for diſarming fome people in the weſt ; it being my fate that nothing was intended to be done, that was diſpleaſing to that countrey, bot wherin I was made instrumentall. Immeadiatlie after I arrivd at Glaſgow, I am orderd with both horſe and foot to march to Aire, Irwine and Kilmarnock, to affiſt the Earle of Glencairden as Sheriffe of Aire, and the Earle of Eglinton as Bailiffe of Cuninghame, for diſarming all, except theſe who were entrufed with publike charges.

When this was done, I rode straight to Edinburgh, and gave the Earle of Rothes, then Lord Commissioner, ane account of both my negotiations. I gave my Lord a paper of what moneys I had refavaved, what I had disbursed, and what I had by me. He shew the paper to the tuo Lords Archbishops, and a litle after, all I had done was allowd and approv'd as good service, and I command'd to deliver up the bonds to Master Keith ; the superplus of the money wherof I had not dispo-sed being allowd me, as I conceavd, for the charges mentioned in the paper, I had beene at, in three yeares before ; as also for my expences in the steuartrie, in the yeares 1663 and 1665. The bonds I accord-ingly deliverd to Mr Keith, and tooke a note of refait of them from him, signed with his hand, which yet I keepe by me. The money I retaind, which was one hundredth and fiftie pound sterline or ther-about.

Bot the people of Galloways minds being whollie estranged from the present government of the Church, and haveing beene bot terrified to ane exterior obedience, and, by reason of my parties short stay, not at all fetled, they foone furnishd their ministers with new occasions of complaints, which were so loud, that they were brought quicklie to the eares of the tuo Archbishops ; and they presentlie acquainting my Lord Commissioner with the great contempt of the laws, in order to Church Government in that countrey, so that a resolution was taken to send me the third time there, as also to Nithsdail, where the people were likewise become disorderlie. It was intended I should have gone in the beginning of Januare 1666, but some things occurd, to which my oun backwardnes to that journey contributed, for indeed my mind presagd me little good, which retarded my journey till the month

of March. I had againe a hundredth and tuentie foot allowed me, and threttie horse were appointed to follow me, for bringing in the Parliaments fines, as they were called ; and indeed I very little meddled with these horse, except that I quarterd some of them, on some deficients, in tuo or three parishes, in the months of September and October after, when I lay myselfe at the toun of Drumfreis.

I was sufficientlie impouerd, with orders and instructions from my Lord Commissioner, for cesser, quartering on and fineing persons disobedient to church ordinances ; neither had I at all any order to cite or proceese formallie the contemners and diffrequenters of churches, and these who married and baptised with outed ministers ; all which persons could not be dilated to me by the conforme ministers, for they knew less than I, which of their parishoners frequented conventicles. They might indeed misse them out of their churches, bot could not tell where they were. I was commanded to make inquirie after fuch, and to bestow liberallie upon intelligence, both to find them out, and the fugitive ministers, (whom I had order to apprehend) and to find out such who harbourd them, and to quarter on them, and fine them. And by this meanes, I was more able to informe the Bishop and Ministers of these disorderlie meetings, and who were at them, than they could informe me.

In May, if I remember right, a Sinod was keeped at Kirkcubright ; where to ease the phanaticks for some time of cesser, at my very earnest desire, ane Act was pasd for a bond of future obedience, to be subscryved by all who had payd no fine that yeare ; with promise that after signeing and observeing the bond, nothing shoulde be demanded of them for bygone transgressions ; if not, they shoulde be cesd on, not for

refuseing to signe the bond, (for that was a wicked calumnie) bot for the fines they owd for former delinquencies. Many subscrivd the bond, and so payd no fine at all; many refusd it, and so by my order were quarterd on for their bygone fines. A fortnights time was allowd them to advice, and in that time I went to Glaſgow, from whence I had a call from my Lord Commissioner to come to Edinburgh, where I receivd new instructions. At my returne to Galloway, I cefd on such transgessors as had neither paid their fines, nor wold signe the bond. Bot makeing haift to Nidsdaill, because of a letter from my Lord Commissioner, I exacted the fines of very few, bot causd them pay the cesse to the sojors, promiseing once more, if they wold yet keepe the church, they shoulde pay no fine at all; if not, though I was going from them, I wold not faile to send horse to quarter on them.

In July, if I mistake not, I came to Drumfries, where I tooke the same course I had done in the steuartrie of Kirkcubright, and shire of Galloway. I dealt as favourablie as I could with these who were averse from Church government. And heere I shall take leave, once for all, to write ane undoubted truth, which is, that I was so farre from exceeding or transgessing my commission and instructions, that I never came the full length of them; sometimes not exceeding the sixt part of the fines, sometimes not the third, and seldome the halfe; and many fines I never exacted at all, still upon the parties promises of future complyance.

In all the places where I came, the number of the deficients, and the Ministers feares, that I shoulde be calld backe before the busines were done, was so great, that I was often neceſſitated to quarter my whole partie on delinquents, and scarce keepe any by me, except my oun

servants ; this may be cleare by this demonstration, that thogh I stayd in that countrey full eight months, yet when I was taken, I had the deficients of seven or eight parishes, whose names had beene given me long before, to quarter on. And this my order led me to doe, being appointed to cesse and quarter with my partie, and not to keepe any post, place or guarrison ; for if it could have been expected that the people of that countrey wold have risen against me, my partie when it was strongest, wold have beene too weake to have enterd there ; and after I had enterd, it had beene madnes in me to have cesse or quartered upon any delinquent ; for necessitie of selfe defence, wold have obliged me to have keepd my whole partie constantlie together, yea, and to have fortified myselfe against hostile attempts.

Three months before my takeing, the halfe of my foot were tane from me to goe to Leith, the warre being hote with Holland ; and in the latter end of October, my horse were sent for by their superiors ; so that I had not in my partie full seventie men, and all these, except twelve or thretteen, quartered on deficients in the countrey. In this posture were my affaires and myselfe, when, upon the fifteenth day of November, a partie of phanatikes both horse and foot, to the number of a hundredth and fiftie or therby, surronded the house where I lodged, and made me prisoner. I was sicke at that time, and had beene so for most part all that summer ; it being weell knowne that, betueene the first of March and November, I had let blood seven times. I can not bot regrate all my lifetime that misfortune, which I could not prevent unles I could have forseene it. Tounes, castles, citadells, strong forts, well guarrifond, yea and some armies too, have beene surprised in our oun days ; and yet they had reason to expect the attempt of ane enemie.

and therfor were obliged to keepe good guards and watches ; wheras I had no reason to looke for any such thing, from a people professing all kind of obedience to the King, and from those who had declar'd no warre or hostilitie. And indeed none could speake more for me then his Majestie, when he heard of it, expressing himselfe graciously in these words. " What hath befallen him, might have befallen the best man of the world." What followed after my takeing, till the overthrow of these who tooke me, is set doun at large in my Relation to the then Lord Commissioner, a true copie wherof follows.—

A RELATION of the late Rebels their motions from the time of their rifeing, till their overthrow, made to his Grace his Majesties Hie-Commissioner, by Sir James Turner, Anno 1666.

May it please your Grace.

If it were onlie these of the phanatick partie that blam'd me for being accessorie to the late Rebellion, I shou'd not be much troubled at it ; bot it is no small greife to me to heare, that some who profess to be of ane other persuasion are apt to trust these misreports, without either heareing me, or examineing the truth, especiallie at a time, when my imprisonment renderd me uncapable to ansuer for myselfe.

I thinke I may safelie avouch it, that malice it selfe could not have abused me, and that partie under my command, with more horride, unchristian and inhumane crimes, then a nameles libeller hath done, in ane infamous paper dispers'd against me. And since I have ansuerd it, and all its corollaries, grievances, aggravations and instances, I

ought in justice to expect that my answere be beleevd, till the libeller affixe his name to his paper, and undertake to prove it.

I thinke I have just reason to desire all, of what persuasion soever they be, to beleieve that the Rebellion was a hatching, long ere I commanded these parties which the libeller mentions ; and that none of my actions, which he calls oppressions, gave any rise to that insurrection. And if they will not beleieve me, they will, I hope, give trust to the worst of papers, I meane that infamous Declaration of the rebels themselves, wherin all may see that their takeing armes, aimed at no lesse marke then the setting up of their dagon the Covenant, the restoration of their Remonstrance, and such a Presbyterian government reestablisid as futed with the protesters braines, and the totall abolishing of the present ecclesiastical, and consequentlie civill government.

My Lord, it will be impertinent for me to tell your Grace all the passages, dureing the time of my imprisonment, betueene the Rebells and me. Upon that subject, I shall be ready to doe it when you command me ; onlie give me leave to say this much, that they confesd to me, that three or foure of their pretended grieveances, wherof they said my oppression was one, did not at all give ground for their riseing, bot onlie did accelerate it. Bot let it be so, that my oppression occasioned this insurrection, why did these of the shyres of Aire and Clid-dail rise, on whom I never quarterd one soldier ? sure these men can pretend no oppression of mine. If my oppression gave a rise to this Rebellion, why did Maxwell of Morith, Maclellan of Barfckob, Maclellan of Balmagaghen, Mr Robinsone the minister, Gordon of Holme younger, all of them commanders in this insurrection, and all of them professing that I had done them severall favours ; why did they, I

fay, rise? Nay, why did Wallace, who at length commanded in chiefe, take armes, whom I had not feene in three and tuentie yeares before? Bot I shall say no more on this subiect, bot hasten to give your Grace a relation, (so farre as I know), of what pasd from the time the rebells enterd in armes, till they were routed.

About the 12th or 13th of November 1666, a gentleman of the steuartrie of Kirkcubright, sent one to acquaint me, that tuo men were comd from the north of Scotland, to follicite severall persons, (who they conceavd, were either dissatified with the present government, or otherwise discontented,) to rise in armes, promiseing them great assistance from their countrey: As also, he informed me, there was a report, the phanatikes intended to seize on the Citadell of Aire, now called Montgomeries toune, and to repaire it. Bot because the gentleman could averre, neither the one nor the other to be a certaine truth, he desired me to suspend my beleefe, till he sent a neare friend of his oun to make a more particular inquirie of the whole matter, which I beleeve he did; bot I was made prisoner, before he could give me any further account.

On the 14th day of the fame month, about fixe of the clocke at night, a corporall of mine, (who had beene quartered 18th miles from Drumfreis), was brought to me on horsebacke, shot in the bellie by Maclellan of Barfkob, accompanied with 18th or 20th men in armes; and this was done, as the corporall affirmed to me, because he refusd to signe the Covenant. This did so alarum me, that I resolvd, (thogh at that time I was right sicke,) to march directlie to the place where the ryot was committed, so soone as I could get any of my sojors together; for my instructions being, as your Grace knoues, to cesse sojors personallie

on these who refused to give obedience to church ordinances, it came often to passe that I had few or none with me, and at that time, I had not above thretteene with me in toun. This made me immediatlie write orders to most of these who were cessed in the countrey, with all diligence either to come to me, or meet me on the way. I wrote also to the Steuart Depute, and desird him to meet me at the parish of Dalry, where the formentiond corporall was wounded; so being resolvd to march, with as many of my soldiers as could be brought together the nixt day, I orderd these few who were present, to come nixt morning at nine a clocke to my lodgeings, and reffave pouder, match and ball.

Nixt day, being the 15th of the month, I rose about sixe of the clocke, and when I was allmost cloathd, I found myselfe so indisposd that I was forcd to goe to bed againe. Betueene eight and nine I arose once more, and haveing onlie my night goune upon me, the rebels enterd the toun, and surronded my lodgeing. I went to a window, from whence I calld to them, and inquird what they intended. Sevrall of them, especialiie Neilson of Corsock, told me that, if I pleasd, I shoud have faire quarter. My answere was, I needed no quarter, nor could I be prisoner, being there was no warre declared. Bot I was answerd, that prisoner I must be, or dy; and therfor they wished me quicklie to come doun staires, which I choosd rather to doe, (notwithstanding the opposition of my servants,) then be murtherd in my chamber, for some of them had allreadie enterd the house. I went to the streets in my goune, where many pistolls and fuords were presented to my head and breast, till Captaine Gray, (who commanded the whole partie,) made me get on horsebacke, and wold have carried me un-

cloathd out of toune, promiseing therafter to fend for my cloathes. Bot at length he was perfuaded to goe with me to my chamber, and to permit me to put on these clothes I wore the day before. In the meane time, this Captaine seazd on a coffer of mine, where some bags of money, some linnens, and some papers were. Bot his sojors got more, in ane other chamber, then he ; neither could I make him or his officers sensible of their oversight, in suffering the rebels to cary away so much money with them. Before I could get myselfe in doublet, breeches and bootes, (and hafte enough I was commanded to make,) I could see myselfe robd of all the papers, moneys, armes, horses, clothes, and linnens I had, thogh the Captaine often promisid, that not any thing belongd properlie to myselfe, sould be imbecelled, and I as oft calld out to them to take all and onlie save my papers ; this was faithfullie promisid to me, bot faithleslie broken. Some few of my sojors were taken in their lodgeings, for nine a clocke, at which hour I appointed them to meet, was not yet comd. They lookd for Master Chalmers, the Person of Drumfreis, bot found him not, yet did they bring away his horse ; neither did I heare of any thing els they plunderd at that time. The Captaine mounted me on his oun horse, and there was good reason for it, for he mounted himselfe on a farre better one of mine, besides these he disposid of to others. Some gentlemen, out of affection, followed me out of Drumfries ; one wherof was rudlie comanded backe, and tuo others were carried eight miles further, allmost as prisoners. Yet I had the opportunitie to tell one of them, that so soone as he returned to the toune, he sould immediatlie post away a servant of mine, (whom he knew I trusted,) to my Lord Archbishop of Glasgow, to acquaint him with all had passed. It was a great addi-

tion to my grieve, to know that my Lord at that time, because of a feaver wheroft he was not recoverd, might fall in a relapse, and so not onlie endanger his life, bot render him uncapable to pay the King and the Church that service, which otherwise I knew he was both able and willing to doe ; yet I thought it more fitting he sould have it from my seryant, then from ane other, who could not perhaps have given him so right ane information.

That night I was lodged at the ministers house of Glencairne, bot the rebels did not let me stay long there, being frighted from thence by a misintelligence they had, that the Earle of Anandaill, and my Lord Drumlanrig, were following them with a strong partie of their friends and vassalls. I found it was in vaine for me, to offer to per- suade the Captaine, that it was purlie impossible for these Lords, in so short a time, to get so many men together as could renconter his partie, which consisted of above ninescore men, more then the halfe wheroft consisted of horsemen, indifferently weill mounted, with fuords, pistolls and carabines ; the rest were afoot, armed with muskets, pikes, fuords, fithes and forkes. When they had carried me away from thence, they put a strong guard upon me, and with much difficultie I was permitted to speake to the Captaine, who a litle before had dif- misd tuentie of my sojors, whom he had taken in the countrey ; telling them, they sould have no quarters heerafter, if they servd the Prelats any more. They had kild one Hammilton, a sojour of my ounе companie, the night before, because he wold neither take the Covenant, or cared for their quarter. I did pleade, I could be no prisoner of warre, and therfor desirid I might be set at libertie, which was refusd me with much scorne and contempt.

Then I desird he wold leave me in some place, till I convalescd, which I hopd wold be within a day or tuo ; and then I wold not faile to come to him upon my paroll, which I promisd not to breake. Bot the wicked wretch told me, that he was so farre from beleeveing my word, that he wold not trust the King, my master, if he were there ; and uttered such horride speeches as are not fit for any loyall subiect to rehearse. I then told him, he might now dispose of me as he pleased, for after these expressions of his, it did not become me to make any further applications to him. Most part of that night was spent in rideing, in regard my indisposition constraind my guards to march bot floulie. Once they tooke me in to refresh at a place called Castell-fairne ; the honest woman of the house was bot shreudlie used, because by her pitifull lookes she did shew she had commiseration of my condition. There was one of my guards, called Canon of Barnshalloch, who entertaind me the whole night, with discourses of death, by order, as I imagind, from the Captaine. He told me, he beleeved it was concluded I sould dy, and therfor wifhd me to prepare for it, and to repent of all my haynous sinnes, especiallie of that crying one, of my persecuting Gods people, who made conscience to keepe the Covenant, to which all my actions shew me to be a mortall enemie. It is needles to trouble your Grace with any more of his language, or my answers to him ; let it be enough to say, that I endeavord to learne from him, whether my death was to be delayed till more of their forces were comd together ; his answere was, it was probable it might be delayed.

On the sixteenth day of the month, we came to the old Clachan of Dalry; where their number increased to tuo hundred and fiftie. Master Hugh Hendersone, late minister of Drumfries, who lived neere that

house, obtained leave of Gray, that I might dine with him at his house. And though he and I be of different persuasions, yet I will say, that he entertaind me with very reall kindnes, and desird the Captaine to set me at libertie; whose answere was, that he could not dispose of me, till he came to the shire of Aire, where he was to reffuse further orders from his superiors. At this place, Major Steuart of Monwhill gave me a visite, and though he be a Presbiterian, yet in plaine enough language, he called them both fooles and knaves. It was reported to me, that Captaine Graye did heere offer to resigne his command to this Major Steuart, and that he absolutlie refused it. I had often enquird what this Captaine Gray was, and by what authoritie he did command these gentlemen he had never seene before; bot I was answerd by them all, that they knew no more of him; bot that he called himselfe Captaine Gray, and that he had brought ane order with him, to them all to obey him. I tooke much pains to learne from whom that order came; whether from one man, as a Generall, or from more men, as a councell, a committee, or junto; bot could never yet, by any means I could use, come to the knouledge of it.

At night, the Captaine lodged me with himselfe, at one Mr Chalmers of Waterfide his house, who entertaind me with much curtefie and civilitie. Bot so did not my Captaine; for he being againe alarmd with a report, that Anandaill and Drumlanrig were seene with a bodie of horse neere a foord of the water of Ken, he got himselfe on horsebacke, and calld incessantlie to mount the prisoner, for now I had losd my oun name, and past under that of the prisoner. And because I was not so soone mounted as he would have had me, he entertaind me with very rude language, and threatned me with death. This alarum

provd false, thogh it was most true that these Lords were very busie
raiseing men, to pursue the rebels. I was permitted to goe into the
house againe, bot not permitted to stay long in it, for about eleven or
twelve of the clocke at night, I was againe set on horsebacke. Very
dark it was, it raind pitifullie, the wind was loud, and the way exceed-
ing bad ; yet sicke as I was, I was forcd to ride eight miles to Corf-
phairne, where the Captaine lodgd me in a countrey house, with fix-
teene horsemen to guard me. I spent the rest of the night till day, in
that poore house, as well as I could. Bot my Captaine rested bot little,
for the day before he had sent away the money, and other baggage, which
he had got from me, and thinking he had sped well enough, resolvd to
retire himselfe, before the fire grew hoter ; and accordinglie did be-
ginne his retreate that very night, which lie managd so discreetlie, that
he was never seene since by either me, or any of his oune partie.

I have often thought since of the follie of this poore fellow, who since
he was not so absolutlie wicked as to take my life, and that it was money
he was looking after, why he could not be so absolutlie good to him-
selfe as to take me with him, who, no question, wold have bought my
libertie from him with all the moneys I could be master of.

The seventeenth day of the month was spent in their quarters, un-
der the command of Barfkob, Corsock and Robinsone the minister,
wlio past then under the name of Captaine Robinsone. At night they
inlarged their quarters, in that same parish of Corphairne ; and I was
sent to the house of one Gordon of Knockgray, who was himselfe in
prison at Kirkcubright, bot his sonne did entertaine me very kindlie,
for some favours I had done to his father, bot he was forced likewise
to entertain threttie horse, who were sent to attend me.

The eighteenth day of the monthe, being the Lords day, we marchd to Damellintoun, to which place Mr John Welch was comd from Edinburgh, with Maxwell of Morith, Maclellan of Balmagachen, and three or foure gentlemen more, who all of them became officers immediatlie. The first halfe of that way, I was guarded by civill enough men ; bot haveing spent one houre at a pitiefull alehouse, I was deliverd to ane other guard, the commander wherof did entertaine me the length of foure miles, with all the insolent and outrageous words that he could invent, and assurd me, that dy I must, and dy I should. My ansuere was, that my life was not so deare to me, as that I wold seekē it from him. When we were comd to their body, I perceavd the commander, whom I knew not. Somthing pusled with marshalling his disorderlie rable, he presentlie commanded tuo of the wickedest of his guards to cary me forward to the other fide of a litle hill ; and spoke some thing els privatlie to them, which I did interprete to be a command to dispatch me ; which conceit of mine was corroborated by the inhumane language of these tuo who conducted me, who told me, it was just both with God and man, to put me to death on a Sabbath day ; in regard, said they, I had forced many pretieous Christians to transgresse the Sabbath, by hindering them to heare their lawfull pastors in hills and woods, and forcd them to goe to church, to heare dumbe dogs, for so they qualfied conforme ministers. I defird them to doe with me what was commanded them, and not to stirre up my passion, which might choak these better thoughts and meditations that were fit for me to entertaine at that time. Bot I found therafter, that their wickednes proceeded meerlie from themselves, for I was sent to that place, onlie that I sould not see the disorders of their new troops.

At Damellinton I was quartered at the principall inne, where I had often lodged before ; my hoste and hostesse made me very wellcome ; and thogh both of them wer Presbiterians, yet did they professe their dislike of the insurrection, and my imprisonment. Sufficientlie well guarded I was, for three, (whom they calld gentlemen,) stayd in the chamber with me, three others at the chamber door, and the rest below staires. After my guards had supped, at my charges, Mr Welch sent one to enquire of me, if I wold reslave a visite from him ; my answere was, he was a person I was lookeing for these tuo yeares bygone, bot I had found him now in a wrong time ; however, he might come when he please. When he came, he enterd in a tedious discourse of the Covenant, which, as he said, had made Scotland glorieous in the eyes of the nations. He held out to me, how great ane eneinie I had beene to that Covenant, and how much I had endeavord to support Prelacie, by suppreffing and opprefsing the people of God, who loved not that government. He wishd me to meditate much on death, which, as he said, I knew not how soone might overtake me. That, thogh perhaps I might answere before men for all I had done, yet it wold be hard for me to answere all before the tribunall of Jesus Christ, where it was like I might shortlie compeare. He confidentlie offerd to assure me, that the Lord had revealld it unto them, that this was the time appointed by God, for the deliverance of his saints and people, from the persecutions and tirannies of these who had vilipended and contemned the Covenant. And then he told me, that thogh a strict guard was still to be keepd over me, yet it was the salvation of my soule that they sought, and that they refolvd to endeavor to gain me, and that I needed not to apprehend death ; bot added these words, “ I meane,” said he, “ not so soone.” I

ansuerd particularlie to everie part of this long discourse. Among other things, I told him, that revelations and miracles were ceas'd ; that it was not probable that he or his partie could set up their Covenant, with such inconsiderable numbers as either they yet had, or were like to get, against the Kings standing forces ; the which, in all probabilitie, were on their march against them. I wishd they wold more maturlie consider what they were doeing, and give over in time, goe home to their houses, and submit to the Kings clemencie ; whose former acts of grace might give them confidence to beleeve, that they had to doe with a mercifull prince, who would pardon their errors, and take their grievances to his royll consideration. Bot by these discourses I prevaild as much with him, as he did with me by his. I calld for a cup of ale, purposlie that I might heare him say grace. In it, he prayd for the King, the restoration of the Covenant, and downfall of Prelacie. He prayd likewise for me, and honord me with the title of Gods servant, who was then in bonds. He prayd for my conversion, and that re-pentance and remission of finnes might be granted to me. After this, the conference broke up, at which were present as many as the roomie could well hold.

On the ninteenth day of the month, about fourie of the clocke in the morning, when I was makeing readie, eight or nine of the rebels horse-men, commanded by Mr Robinsone the minister, rod thorough the vil-lage twice or thrice, ey crying aloud, “ Rander your prisoner, rebels, rander your prisoner, or you shall all dy.” I instantly conjecturd, that this was done on purpose to try what countenance I wold show, and therefore I assurd my guards, (who were indeed ignorant of the design,) that it was their own people, for it was impossible for any of the Kings

forces to be so neere. One of them went doun stairs, and at his return told me, I had conjecturd right ; bot, said he, when first I heard the cry, I doubted whether to kill you, or goe doun staires first. I askd him, if he had any such order, to which he and his comerads ansuered with silence. It was then that one of my intelligencers (for tuo I had gaind among them,) told me, they were resolvd to dispatch me, so soone as they met with any opposition ; bot this resolution was afterwards alterd. My guards were changd that morning, and after all the new officers had given me a civile visite, we marchd, and about tuo of the clocke in the afternoone, I was quarterd beside the church of Torbolton, and their horse in the parish ; the foot lodging in the church and church-yard. That afternoone many joynd with them, both from the shire of Aire and Cliddsdaill, insomuch as they spoke of nothing bot marching to Glasgow the nixt day. Bot being informed that night, that My Lord Duke of Hamilton and Generall Dallyell were both comd to that toun, and that nixt day the whole forces wold be there, they betooke themselves to their seconde thoughts. Towards the evening, Mr Robbinsone and Mr Crukshank gave me a visite ; I calld for some ale, purposlie to heare one of them blesse it. It fell Mr Robbinsone to seeke the blessing, who said one of the most bombastick graces that ever I heard in my life. He summond God Allmighty very imperiouslie to be their secondarie, (for that was his language ;) " and if," said he, " thou wilt not be our secondarie, we will not fight for thee at all, for it is not our cause, bot thy cause ; and if thou wilt not fight for our cause, and thy oun cause, we are not obliged to fight for it. They say," said he, " that Dukes, Earls, and Lords are comeing with the Kings Generall against us, bot they shall be nothing bot a threshing to us." This

grace did more fullie satisfie me of the follie and injustice of their cause, then the ale did quench my thirst. That night, they sent severall parties abroad, who brought many horses to them. One partie they sent to the toune of Aire, which brought out of the tolbooth all these armes, which E. Glencairne and I had taken from the countrey people the yeare before.

The nixt day, being the tuentieth of the month, about eleven or tuelve of the clocke, the rebels marchd straight to Aire, and so farre as I could well perceave, their numbers were encreased to above seven hundreth ; bot they gave it out, that there were five hundreth for them, at such a place, and sixe hundreth at ane other place, and that their brethren of the north had crost Forth at the heads. This they told, with many more lyes ; for to speake untruths was a veniall sinne with these persons. While we were on our way, one Major Lermond accosted me, and usd me with many insolencies, telling me, he had knowne me before ; "and at that time," said he, "you were a gentleman, bot now you are not ; for you are a persecutor of Gods saints, and hath made yourselfe a slave to Prelacie, and the instrument of their tirannie." I told him, thogh all his language were true, yet he had timd it very ill. Master Gabriell Semple tooke him away from me, and did himselfe enter in a discourse with me, of Episcopacie, Presbiterie and the Covenant. I was very free with him, in declareing my mind concerning all the three. Then he enquired of me, whether I thought vice and sinne were not more punished in the time of Presbiterie, then it was now in the time of Episcopacie. I answerd, that thogh I sould grant that to be true, yet wold it militate onlie against the Bishops persons, and not at all against their functions. Bot that he

might see that I wold not grant him that either, I told him, I never saw either publike or private sinne more abound then in the years 1643 and 1644, when the Solemne League and Covenant was subsci-
red by many. He purfued that discourse no further, bot told me, I was in disgrace with the King, diserted by the Bishops, and threatened with death by the Generall ; and that I might easilie rid myselfe of all these difficulties, by signeing the Covenant. Bot when he saw that did not prevaile, he had a large discourse of death, on which he desird me to meditate, and so parted civilie with me. That night I was lod-
ged at Aire in ane inne, three of their gentlemen in the chamber with me, and a guard of horse and foot below staires. Severall of my ac-
quaintances were permitted to see me, bot not to discourse in private with me. Yet Colonell Robsone, ane English gentleman, who lives at Montgomeries toun, found meanes to tell me quietlie, that my death was resolvd on, so soone as the rebels did once see the Kings forces. At this place I borrowed a little money from a friend of mine, for I had beene master of none since I was made prisoner. I cannot omit to tell, that on our march to Aire, Major Mackulloch, who was since executed at Edinburgh, in my hearing, praisd God for that happie day he had now seene ; and, said he, " Magnified be thow, Lord, for thou hast done thy oun worke thyselfe." One of his partie, and my guards, rejoyned in this language ; " Bide you yet, sir, the worke is not halfe done, the play is bot beginning." I lookd immediatlie to him, and smild on him, and so did he upon me. Then I resolvd, if possible, to make a ftrict acquaintance with him, and to that purpose entered in a discourse with him ; bot by it, I found he was a person not fit to be en-
trusted with secrets, and therfor tooke no more notice of him.

On the tuentieth and one day of the month, my guards were changed; halfe a dozen wherof came to the roome where I was, and pulld me out of it with much rudenes and insolence; neither wold they give me time to subscrive a note for some moneys I owed to my landlord for my supper, a hat, and some linnens, his wife had prepared for me. And when they had brought me doune staires, and found no horse readie for me, they made me walke afoot allmoft out of toune, till the gentleman who commanded my guards the day before, came and carried me backe to the inne, where I had time to satiffie my hofst, and take my morning draught. And then the fame gentleman saw me mounted on such a horse as they had allowed me. Heere a fpurre, which they had permitted me to weare before, was taken from me; and then I was carried out of toune, where they were drawing up their companies. He who commanded my guards, did moft insolentlie revile me; he told me, I was a greater persecuter of Christians, then any who was ever mentiond in historie. He said, I was the author of all the mischieves that had befallen either the Covenanters, or the Covenant itfelfe. Nay, the foole averd, that I was the man that had both presented and admitted the ministers in severall parishes, unsufficient fellows, that came in by my meanes, without the peoples consent, with much more stufse to this purpose. He was fo extravagant, that I enterd in some passion with him, which made me tell him, it was below me to anfuer his insolent follies, and that he might fay what he pleased, for I wold take no more notice of his language then of the barking of a dog; at which the ridiculous fellow requird the rest of the guard to be his witneffes, that thogh there was a great alteration in my condition, yet my heart was not at all changed, bot hardend in wickednes,

in so farre, that I had compared him, who was a good Christian, to a dog. Bot Master Crukschanck the minister, haveing heard of this dialogue, came and gave him a very severe reprove, and told him, thogh ane idolatrous king had said it, yet it was truth, that he who puts on his harnesse, shold not boast, as he who puts it of. Neither, said he, does any of us know, bot that before night, we may be in the same condition that this gentleman is, or a worse. From Aire, the rebels marched tuo miles, and pass'd the water at Afton Bridge, and then drew up in a field. My ignorant guard carried me up to their van, where I presentlie began to number them, bot was soone interrupted by some of their officers, who under a shew of civilitie, desired me and my guards to goe to the nixt alehouse and refresh a litle.

Heere they stayd about tuo houres and a halfe, and as I was told, placd some officers both of horse and foot. Immediatlie after, they re-passed the same bridge, and marchd in to the parish of Colton. Bot by the way, I was commanded to alight from the horse I did ride on, because they alleadged he was too suift, and mounted I was on ane other, who wold not goe without stroakes. And to make fure worke with me, they tooke away a spurre from me, which that same wicked fellow, who had abusd me so much that morning, (to make some amends for his uncivilitie,) had lent me. I was very desireous to have keepd the spurre, bot Major Lermond told me, that the committee had orderd it otherwife. "What," said I, "have they brought the busines that length, as to a committee ? perhaps the first act of it hath unspurd me." They likewise appointed one Callhoone, a bankrupt merchant of Glasgow, in whom they much trusted, to command my guards ; which he did tuo days together very strictlie, yet with very much respect and civilitie.

Heere Lieutenant Colonell Wallace came to me, in a long cloake, his muntero draune over his face, and his beard very rough. His deportment was civill ; he askd me, how I had my health, and if I knew him. I told him, I knew his face, but could not so foone remember his name. He immediatlie told me who he was, and profesd to be sorry to see me in that condition ; and after that, I had constantlie exterior civilities from him. We lodgd that night dispersdlie in that parish of Coltoun, where we had some alarums. And after the word "horse, horse," was given, (for that was all their trumpet;) the nixt word was constantlie, "mount the prisoner," which many times was given in such haste, that I had little time alloud me to pull on my bootes ; which made me reslove in time coming not to pull them of at all, thogh it provd exceeding troublesome to ride, walke, sit and ly constantlie in them.

On the tuo and tuentieth day of the month, we marchd to Ochill-tree, where Master John Welch, (who went from Damellintoune to Galloway to fetch fresh forces,) met us with his armie, (for so some of the rebels wold needs have it called). I saw them afarre of, and reckond them to be neere one hundred ill armed foot, and some fifteene or sixteene horse. I was lodged that night at the principall alehouse of the toune, where I was indifferentlie well used, and visited by some of their officers and ministers. Most of their foot were lodged about the church and churchyard, and order given, to ring bells next morning; for a sermon to be preachd by Mr Welch. Maxwell of Morith and Major Mackullock, invited me to heare that phanatick sermon, (for soe they merrilie calld it). They said, that preaching might prove ane effectuall meane to turne me, which they heartelie wifhd. I answerd them, that I was under guards, and that, if they intended to

heare that fermon, it was probable I might heare it likewise, for it was not like my guards wold goe to church, and leave me alone at my lodegings. Bot to what they spoke of my conversion, I said, it wold be hard to turne a Turner. Bot because I found them in a merry humour, I said, if I did not come to heare Mr Welch preach, then they might fine me in fortie shillings Scots, which was duoble the soume of what I had exacted from the phanatikes. Bot there was no sermon, which undoubtedlie I would have heard, if there had beene any. It was told me, that Mr Welch had a short speech to their officers, at Sir Johne Cochrans house, where most of them, and their ministres were quarterd; bot his lady was so farre from makeing them wellcome, (Sir Johne himselfe being then with the Generall), that she would not be seene by any of them. And I suppose, we were all of us deare enough guests to Sir Johne, for I am confident, his servants were forced to entertaine neere a hundred of their horses, among whom were sixteene of my guardes, if not more.

On the tuentie third day of the month they broke up from Ochilltrie, about eleven of the clocke in the morning, and marchd to Cumlock. Once I thought the rebels intended for Sanquor, to pay there some of their relligieous vowes; one wherof was, to ruine my Lord Drumlanrigs castles and lands, because he was active against them, and, as they were informed, had hangd tuo of his vassals or tennents, because they had faild to be at a rendes-vous which he had appointed. Bot the faints were wise in their anger, and delayd their revenge till a more fit opportunitie. Upon their march to Murekirke, they had intelligence that the Kings forces were marchd the day before from Glasgow to Killmarnock, which provd to be true. The way to that church was

exceeding bad, a very hie wind, with a grieveous raine in our faces. The night fell darke before we could reach the place where the foot were quartered, with no meate or drinke, and with very litle fire. I doe confesse, I never saw lustier fellows, then these foot were, or better marchers; for thogh I was appointed to stay in the reare, and notwithstanding these inconveniences, yet I saw few or none of them stragle. Major Lermond, (who endevord to make some amends for his former incivilities), gave order to quarter me in the best alehouse neere the church. Bot threttie of their foot came likewise, and quarterd themselves with me, in spite of my horse guards.

On the tuentieth and fourth day of the month, about nine of the clocke of the morning, they rendevoysd at Murekirke; where I was permitted to buy tuo litle nags, ane for myselfe, and ane other for a drummer of mine, who had stayd constaintlie with me, and for both I payd no more bot tuelve dollars; it will be easilie granted I could doe no great feates on horses of that price. It was from this place, or from Douglas, that they fufferd Mr Welch his servant to carry ane open letter of mine to my wife at Glasgow, for they wold not permit me to write to (who, they said, was at London), or to my Colonell the Earle of Linlithgow, or to Generall Dallyell. We began our march about ten a clocke, and spent most of the day ere we could get to Douglas, the way being rough and mountanous, and the weather rainie and boisterous. Here it was told me, by one of my intelligencers, that they intended to march to Hammilton, and from thence, (if they could give the Generall the goeby,) to Glasgow. We made a stand at Douglas till quarters were made, and in that interim, I was accofted by one Mitchell, whom I had never seene before, a preacher, bot no

actuall minister, who spared not to raile sufficientlie against all authortie both supreame and subalterne. He seemd to be most offended with the gentlemen of the long robe, who, as he conceavd, had beene the contrivers and penners of these laws, either in Parliament or Councell, which did uphold the prelaticall government. Nixt to them he furieouſlie blamd me, for oppressing men in their consciences and estates, by putting these unjust laws in execution. He said, I had oppresd men who had shoune more loyaltie to the King, in the time of usurpation, then any of these who had pend thoſe laws. I told him, sharplie enough, if both my conscience and judgment had not gone along with the justice and equitie of these laws, no worldlie advantages ſould ever have made me undertake the execution of them. He ſeemd to commend my ingenuitie, bot enterd on ane other diſcourse, which paſſd all prescriptions of modeſtie. That night, Wallace beganne to command their forces, which power, with the title of colonell, as I was told, was given him by their committee; in which alſo it was debated, what ſould be done with me, bot nothing concluded on the matter.

On the tuentie and fifth day of the month, being the Lords day, they broke up from Douglas, and marched neere Lefmahego; haveing beene informed, bot not trulie, that my Lord Duke of Hammilton, onlie with his oune troupe, and ſome of the countrey gentlemen, which made them ſpeake of beateing up his quarters; which gladlie they wold have done, being much incensed againſt my Lord, because he had forced, under all hieſt paines, the gentrie and communaltie to goe with the Generall, againſt both their conſciences and judgments, as they pretended. At this place they ſtayd about tuo houres, haveing ſent a partie of horſe to Lanrick to make quarters. I was taken into a contrey houſe, under

pretence to refresh, bot it was, that I sould not looke upon their armie, (for so they were pleasd to call it,) till they had marshallld it rightlie. At length I was mounted, and led along the reare of both horse and foot, and therafter I was brought to the front of the battell, where I did not let the opportunitie slip to reckon them. I found their horse did consist of foure hundred and fortie, and the foot of five hundred and upwards, besides the partie of horse which was at Lainrick, and some other small parties which they had sent abroad to plunder horses; a Sundayes exercise proper onlie for phanaticks. The horse men were armed for most part with fuord and pistoll, some onlie with fuords. The foot, with musket, pike, fith, forke and fuord; and some with staves, great and long. There I saw tuo of their troopes skirmish against other tuo, (for in foure troopes their cavallerie was divided,) which I confesse they did handfomlie, to my great admiration. I wonderd at the agilitie of both horse and rider, and to see them keepe troope so well, and how they had comd to that perfection in so short a time. The foot were not exercised at this time. At length they marched to Lanrick, the horse crossing the river of Clide by the foord, and the foot by the boate, for there was bot one.

The principall Bayliffe of the toune was willing to have lodged me at his oun house, bot he was onlie permitted to shew his kindnes to me, by presenting me with a cup of ale in his oun chamber, (all the rest being taken up for their officers), and by giveing me a visite at ane other lodging prepar'd for me. Heere Commissarie Lockheart came also and saw me, and profferd very kindlie to lend me any gold or silver I stood in need of, wherof I did not accept, yet I borrowed a change of linnens from him. The toune was searchd for armes and

munition, and onlie fourteene partifanes, and three or foure pound of pouder were found, and taken out of the tollbooth. That night a councell or committee was keepd, where it was concluded, that nixt morning the Covenant shoulde be renewd, and suorne. And the question was, whether immediatlie after, they shoulde put me to death ; they who were for it, pretended ane article of the Covenant obliged them to bring all malignants to condigne punishment. Bot it was resolvd, that I shoulde not dy so soone, bot endeavours shoulde be used to gaine me. All this was told me by one of my intelligencers, before tuo of the clocke nixt morning. Yet I have heard sinc, that it was formallie put to the vote, whether I shoulde dy presentlie, or be delayed, and that delay was carried in the councell, by one vote onlie.

Let now all people of impartiall judgments determine, whether this armie of pretended saints spent this Lords day, as Christians ought to doe ; and these who make Sabbath breakeing a crying sinne, how will they excuse this crue of rebellious hipocrites, who began that dayes worke in the morning with stealeing a silver spoone and a night goune at Douglas, and spent the rest of the day, most of them in exerciseing, in a militarie way, and the rest in plundring houes and horses, and did not bestow one houre or minute of it, in the Lords service, either in prayers, praises or preaching ? Bot they made a good amends at night ; for omitting the dueties of the day, by passing one act for renewing the Covenant, and ane other for murthering me whenever they shoulde thinke it fitting. This I shall say, they were not to learne to plunder, and that I have not seene lesse of divine worship any where, then I saw in that armie of theirs ; for thogh at their rendevous and halts they had opportunitie enough everie day for it, yet did I never heare any

of their ministers, (and as themselves told me, there was not so few as tuo and threttie of them, wherof onlie five or fixe conversd with me,) either pray, preach, or sing psalmes ; neither could I learne that it was ever practisid publiklie, except once by Mr Robbisone at Corffairne, ane other time by Mr Welch at Damellinton, and now the third time by Mr Semple at Lanrick, where the laufull pastor was forced to resigne his pulpit to him. What they did in severall quarters, I know not ; perhaps they had some familie exercise there. I am sure in my quarters, my guards neither prayd nor praiid, for any thing I ever heard ; and being for most part in one room together, it is to be supposid I must have beene a witnes to their devotions. Bot I confesse I was more overwearied with the tediousnes and impertinencies of their graces before and after meate, then I was either with the scarsnes or badnes of my meate and drinke.

It was now Monday morning, the tuentie sixth of the month, when one of their ministers did reade the Covenant on the top of the staires of the tollbooth, which was suorne by all the affistants. Bot neither I nor any of my guards were invited to that morning exercise. When most of them were marchd out of toune, I was calld out of my lodgings, and Major Lermond wold needs convoy me himselfe, for feare, forsooth, that the toune people sould stome me. Bot I am sure none of them offered so much as one injurieous word to me ; yet I heard many poore people curse them for takeing free quarter, (I haveing paid my hoste for all my guards and I dranke ; for meate he wold take nothing, for which he witnesseed his thankfullnes in holding my stirrop, when I got on horsebacke.) It was ane ordinare thing for any of them all, to call for any thing was necessarie for either horse or man, and say

they wold pay it when they came backe. This was bot a peccadillo in both officers and sojors, for a great finne it could not be in such saints, who, say they, have the onlie true right to the creature. Bot one houre was not past, when I could tell Major Lermond what made him so officious as to convoy me that morning. There was a certaine persone, who shall be nameles, who desird to see me led as a prisoner, enirond with a number of draune fuords, to satisfie whom, the Major led me out of the way round about the tollbooth, before a hie window where that persone stood. There were many signes of joy, and much laughter passd betuixt him and the Major, yet he endevord to keepe himselfe so within the window that I should not see him, bot in vaine, for I saw him well enough. It was a ridiculous action of that foolish Major, to satisfie any mans curiositie, by abuseing himselfe, and the charge he then exerced. And to the other, I shall say, it was below a gentleman, and unbeseeming a good subject, to desire to glut his eyes with the sight of the low condition and captivitie of one who professd loyaltie to the King, Heere at Lanrick severall fellows joyned with the rebels, to the number, as I thinke, of fortie or fiftie; bot they were not able to arme the halfe of them. And now the rebels were in their greatest strength, which I avow never to have exceeded eleven hundred horse and foot, (if ever they were so many,) for thogh in everie place some came to them, yet some likewise diserted them, among whom were some of their ministers, particularlie Mr Alexander Pedden.

Without the toune, in sight of their armie, for so they wold have it called, Major Lermond, Mr Robbinsone, and ane other minister whom I knew not, with tuo or three officers more, came to me; and the Major embraceing me, said, that I was in greater safetie with them then I

could be with the Kings forces, in regard the Generall intended to put me to death ; and that some great person had, and wold stop all ways for me to enter in the Kings favour ; that I had best consider my owne condition, that my persecuting the Covenant was the ground of the controversie betweene God and me ; and if I wold take the Covenant, as they had done that morning, besides the good I shoulde doe to my owne soule, I shoulde be eminent enough in the eyes of the world. Much to this purpose did he and the rest of them harangue to me. My answere was premeditated, and such as proceeded from one resolvd to dy. First, I wishd that Mr Semple had beene there, to whom I had at large related, on what grounds I had taken that Covenant three and tuentie yeares agoe ; as also how I had repented for doeing it ; what were the grounds that movd me to that repentance, with a resolution never to enter into it againe. I told them, I lookd upon the present condition of affaires with a sorrowfull heart ; and that I forswore, that he, whom they calld their enemie, (meaning the Generall,) would engadge them within eight and fortie houres, which I wishd I might prevent with the losse of my life ; which I was heartilie willing to sacrifice, if therby I might expiate these offences, wherwith I was unjustlie charged, conditionallie no more blood might be shed, and that they wold goe home to their houses and implore his Majesties pardon, who is both readie to forgive for time bygone, and readie to heare their grievances in time to come. " And now," said I, " gentlemen, you may perceave, by what I have said, how little the terrors of death are like to prevaile with me ;" and to what I have said, I tooke God to be my witnes, who, said I, in all probabilitie will shorltlie be my judge. And to Master Robbinsone (who spoke something to me of death,) I said thus ; " Mr

Robbinsone, I know you, and to you now I speake. The house of death hath many doores, and thorough one or ane other of them we must all enter ; for me, I resolve to endure the most severe stroake of the Kings justice, rather than cary a fuord against him or his authoritie. If," said I, "a man enjoy the inward peace of his mind, it is no matter whether a feaver, a pistoll, a fuord, a dagger, a hatchet, or a halter, usher him to his grave." They were pleasd to say that I had spoken generouslie, bot averd that all of them were as much for his Majesties person and authoritie as I was, or any other that carried his commision ; and added, they wold give me time to consult with God and my conscience, which I accepted, and so we parted.

They had marchd now about a mile and a halfe, and enterd in a moras, when one came and told them that the enemies forepartie was feene on the other side of the river ; and that Mondrogat, who com-manded a partie of theirs at the foord, had either dround or broken the boate. Lermond was sent thither, to see in what condition their affaires stood, their body marching on. Bot within one houre, or therby, the Generall had passd the river with both his horse and foot ; the Earles of Linlithgow and Kellie shewing their foot companies good example by wadeing the river first themselves. Upon this intelligence the rebels facd about, and drew up as formallie as the ground could permit. And certainlie if the Generall had comd up that length and attackd them, he had done it with a notable seene disadvantage, the moras being so deepe, and the way so narrow, that hardlie the foot, much lesse the horse, could do any great service. When they heard the Generall had made his quarters at Lanrick, they marchd on. A little before this, Mr Laurie of Blackwood was brought to them ; what his errand was

I know not, bot if it was to intimate the proclamation and act of grace, he did it with so little noyse, and to so few, that not all their officers, much lesse their soldiers, knew any thing of it ; neither did he so much as give me any hint of it, thogh he and I rode a full houre together.

In this march, Wallace had severall discourses with me, particularlie of the strength of the Kings forces. I told him, I conceavd the troopes of horse to consist of fixe hundredth, and the tuo regiments of foot neere tuo thousand. Bot he replyd, that he had latelie beene in Edinburgh, and had privatlie seene all the foot companies, when they went out to exercise, and that he conceavd them to be below that number I spoke of. He said, he was informed that the Generall had left tuo troopes of horse, and fixe companies of foot behind him, bot where, or for what reason, he had not yet learned. He said likewise, that the speedines of the march, the foulnes of the weather, and the badnes of the way, must of necessitie have lessened the Generalls numbers much ; and concluded, he could not be above foure hundredth horse, and eight hundredth foot. And withall he told me, that many that were with the Generall, wold wearie of the fatigue of the march, and wold importune him to leave his foot, and follow with his horse, which the said Wallace protested, he wold looke upon as a great advantage to his cause. I shew him he entertained such hopes in vain ; for neither could the Kings forces be so much diminishd, or was it probable, the Generall wold separate his horse and his foot ; "a certain demonstration wherof," said I, "you have just now learnd, for you have heard that he hath causd his whole foot wade thorough that foord, which yesternight with some difficultie you passed on horseback. Bot if he wold have left his foot behind, it was his time to doe it on the other side of the river, and then have folloued

you with his horse." Moreover, I told him, it was like, the Lords who were with the Generall, were accompanied with numbers of the countrey gentlemen, with their friends and vassals. At this he smild, and did insinuate, that these I mentioned were not like to doe him very great hurt, for he looked not on them as enemies to him or his cause. To this I ansuered, that all the gentlemen of the westerne shires who were of his persuasion, had opportunitie and time enough to have joynd with him, before the Generall came the length of Kilmarnock. And so we parted for that time.

They came neere to Calder with daylight ; and againe, I must say, that I have seldome or never seene lustier foot then these they had. They keepd rank and file on that miserable way and weather, even to admiration, and yet outmarched their horse, and got to the van of them, either thorough neglect or misunderstanding of their officers. Bot Maxwell of Morith and Lermond rode up, and reducd them to their former order. Neere to Calder, I saw halfe a dozen of farmers meet with Master Semple, who told him, as I was informed, that a good number of his persuasion had that morning keepd a private rendeuous, of purpose to joyne with him, bot haveing heard that the Covenanted armie had marchd touards Glasgow, they had disbanded. Mr Semple implored these fellows to be guides to their armie. When Wallace came up to us, he orderd his forces to march to Bathket, which was a little out of the roade way to Edinburgh ; this, I confess, made me doubt whether he intended for Edinburgh or Glasgow. He increased my doubt, by asking me, whether I did not think that when Generall Dalyell heard that he, the said Wallace, was at Bathket, he wold not imagine, that he had turnd head to Glasgow, and therfor wold endeav-

vour to get between him and it. He smild when he askd me this question, hugging himselfe (as I found afterwards) with the fancie, that he had, by that turn of his, cast the Generall a whole days march behind him. I told him, there was no question bot the Kings Lieutenant Generall could not readilie resolve, whether to follow him straight to Edenburgh, or intercept his passage to Glasgow, for I my selfe, who was with him, did much doubt which of the tuo places he intended for. This doubt of mine made him laugh with open mouth, for it was no small joy to him to think he had puzzled me ; and this gave me occasion to meditate a whole houre after, how vaine a thing man is.

Having well enough perceavd, notwithstanding this frolicke of his, that he stll imagind the Kings forces were at his heels, and therfor wold not stay long in one place, I desird him to permit me, with my guards, to goe to some house, where I might repose a litle. My desire was civillie granted by him, and he seemd to regrate very much, both my condition and indisposition. My guards, (wherof David Scot, a weaver, was Captaine,) carried me straight to Bathket, and tooke up for my quarters the best alehouse ; and there some countrey gentlemen of my acquaintance had beene undoubtedlie unhorsed, if I had not usd some dexterous means, not perceivd then by my blockheaded guards, to make them understand their danger, and escape it ; for which some of my guards, sorry to have loosed such a prey, complainid afterwards to Wallace, bot he tooke litle or no notice of it. After I had refreshd a little, Mr Semple, and their pretended Generall Quartermaster, came to the house, and made quarter for the armie ; bot so, that none of their horse were to lodge one mile beyond that place. When they

had done, and that Mr Semple, and I had discoursed a litle, I cast my selfe on the top of a bed, and sleepe till Wallace and the rest of his officers came. He and they made their supper at my lodeinge ; I was invited to it, bot pretended want of sleepe for my excuse. About tuelve of the clocke at night, " Horse, horse, and mount the prisoner," was proclaimd. All was readilie obeyed, and the march went from thence straight to Edinburgh; bot the raynie and boyfsterous weather, the darknes of the night, and deepnes of the way, occasioned a most disorderlie march ; for after they were three or foure miles on their way, most of them, both horse and foot, went into houes on the hie way, and by my persuation, so did my guards too. We stayd in a poore house, till daylight summond us to horsebacke. That night fortie horse were too many to have routed them all. Bot feldome doth one enemie trulie know what ane other is doing. Nixt morning, about ten of the clocke, they rallied well enough at the new bridge, five miles from Edinburgh. They drew up in tuo squadrons of horse, and one of foot. In the numbering of all the three, I could find few above one thousand.

At this place, I neither heard prayers, psalmes, or preaching ; yet one of their ministers, (and they faid, it was either one Guthrie, or one Oglebie,) made a speech to them, which, if his cause had beene good, had not been evill. He desird them to remember that Covenant and oath of God, which they had suorne the day before, and that they were obliged to cary themselves not onlie pieouslie to God, bot civillie and discreetlie to man. He assurd them, their friends were readie to reslave and embrace them with open armes, and furnish them with all necessaries for backe and bellie, as also with all things might render them able to encounter their enemies ; armes and amunition assuredlie

he meant. " Bot," said he, " you must not stop there, for to be civil to those who are good to you, deserves neither thankes nor reward. Bot I intreate you," said he, " to use all imaginable discretion to those who are not of your persuasion ; endeavor to gaine them with love, and by your good carrieage, stop the mouths of your adversaries." This speech, though it was not unworthie a Christian, (thogh a rebell,) yet did it not at all please me ; for by it I perceavd the minister conceavd the toun of Edinburgh to be his oun. Bot before he sleepd, I was disabused, and he was disappointed.

It was now the seven and tuentieth day of the month, and thretteenth of the insurrection, when the rebels marchd from that bridge to Collinton, tuo miles from Edinburgh. In some places of the way, they were in view of the Castle, bot at such a distance that the guns of it could not reach them. The place where they quarterd, by reason of a church and churchyard, a stome bridge, the water, because of the great raines, unfoordable, was defencible enough against infalls. My guards and I were lodged in the best inne, and about the evening, Wallace and most of his officers gave me a visite. He told me that he was more troubled for me than for himselfe ; for he found it wold be convenient for him to stay in the field most of that night, which he thought wold not be fit for me to doe, and therfor askd me, if I wold not stay in my lodgeing with my guards. Bot I apprehending my guard might have order rather to dispatch me, then suffer me to be taken from them, told him, I wold rather choose to goe to the field with him. While we were speaking thus, the noyce of tuo pistolls gave ane alarm ; Wallace presentlie left me, bot left order with my guard to keepe me in my lodgeing till his further direction. After a

little time he returned; and told me it was boysterous and rainie wea-
ther, and that he had resolyed to let ane evill night kill it selfe; and
that I might goe and take some rest if I pleased.

Bot the above mentioned Laurie of Blekwood his comeing to that
place, with Mr Richard of Barfkemmine, who was sent from the Gene-
rall, made me resolve not to sleepe till I knew both their errand and
their ansuere. And because I found I was not concernd in my oun
particular in any of them, I resolvd to be the more free both in it and
their generall message. Both of thiem gave me a visite, and I found
Mr Laurie did not deceave my expectation of him. They had met
with Wallace and his officers, before I saw them. Barfkemmine came
alone without Laurie; he was followed by Mr Robinfone and tuo
other phanaticks, who were to beare witnes what pasd betueene him
and me. I dare assure your Grace, Barfkemmine acted his part very
handsomlie. He intimated to all he could either meet or speake with,
(without any feare of the rebels,) his Majesties act of grace, and the
Privie Councells proclamation; which did produce so good effects, that
it diminishd their number at least one hundreth, before nixt morning.
He and I both endevord very much to speake one word in private
together, bot Mr Robbisone wold by no means permit it; yet we
mannagd the busines so well, that under the notion of some dollars,
(which he offerd to lend me,) I told him the true number of the rebels;
and as much of their designes as I either knew or could guesse at.
At our conference, one of my guards said, there was a fleet of fortie
men of warre of Hollanders neere the coast of Scotland; to which Bar-
fkemmine replyd, that whoever trusted to the Hollanders, leand on a
broken reed; and this I seconded, which put Mr Robbisone in so great

a passion, that he did with much impudence avouch, that he and the rest of his partie were as ready to march against the Hollanders, in defence of his prince and his countrey, as either Bariskemmire or I, thogh I had my libertie. And then it was that I did declare to him, in presence of Bariskemmire, that I was readie to performe the promise I had made at Lanrick, of sacrificeing my life, to shunne the effusion of more blood, which I did too well perceave wold be shed. And it was then likewise that Mr Robbisone declard, that nothing wold satissie their partie bot the dounfall of Episcopacie, and the restoration of Presbiterian government.

Before Bariskemmire came, I askd Wallace how it came to passe, that neither wine, good bread, nor strong waters, were brought from Edinburgh by his sutlers. He ansuerd me, that the provost of that citie had taken such a strict course for keepeing all so well within the toune, that nothing could be brought out of it; and that the same provost had appointed strong guards, with . . . fielding peeces, at everie port, and had cast up a very strong worke at the Westport, which I interpreted to be a barricado. He told me also, that he was of the opinion that the provost wold reslave no message or addresse from him. By this ingenuous discourse, Colonell Wallace did exceedinglie comfort me; for I had reason to imagine that the rebels made an account to get strong supplys out of that citie, if not to be absolute masters of it. About tuo or three of the clocke in the morning, the rebels quarters without Collinton were beaten up by some loyall gentlemen; under the command of my Lord Ramsay, as I suppose, who quarterd then in the Canongate with some of the gentry of Lothian, wheroft he was Sheriffe. What number was kild or taken I did not

much inquire, bot they faid themselves that a stout refistance was made.

That night, I was told by one of my intelligencers, that one of the rebels had undertaken to carry a message into Edinburgh, and bring ane anfuer out of it from their friends. And so he might, for I knew the undertaker to be ane Edinburgh merchant. Nixt morning the same perfone told me, that the messenger was returned, bot with what news he could not tell. "We shall," said I, "know that quicklie by their motions." And it was as I faid, for immediatlie they march-ed southward, dispaireing of any good from the citie.

It was the tuentie eight day of the month, and the fourteenth and last of the rebellion. At first, when they began their march, I imagind they intended for Dalkieth, and so to Tiviotdaill. Bot when I saw them leave that road, and take the way of Linton, I knew not what to thinke, and perhaps the rebels knew not what to doe. Some foure or five miles from Edinburgh, at a place called the Gallow Law, (ane ominous name,) they made ane halt, bot did not draw up, wait-ing for their reare, for many had stayd behind lookeing for their break-fasts. Some wherof, and these not a few, I saw go into Fulford, not to plunder, (for that was ane odieous word in the eares of the faincts,) bot only to enquire how Sir William Purves his cellars were provided. His servants can tell if these pieous people did offer any drinke money for what they ate, drunke, or tooke. At this place, one of my guards made me a proffer of some bread and cheese, which he said he had got at a curats house; for now the worke of reformation went so stronglie on, that all gentlemen, and countrey farmers, who had any thing that was useful for the faincts, pasd under the name of curats. I told him,

I was readie to accept his offer, (and indeed, I was not so hungrie the whole time I was their prisoner,) if I could be assurd of a cup of ale, which he promisid to bring from the nixt alehouse. In the mean time came Wallace, who seeing me a foot, lighted from his horse, and began to enter in a discourse with me. Bot whill I endeavord both to heare him, and make use of my well purchaed vittaills, one of my guards pointing at ane hie hill, cryd, "There comes the enemy;" . . . ane other of them cryd, "It is a partie of our oun." We lookd presentlie that way, and whether Wallace was startled at this sight or not, I know not, bot I am sure I was so alarmd that I forgot my breade and cheese. When I saw the partie appear numerous, I presentlie apprehended it was the Generalls forpartie, or forlorne hope, especiallie when I calld to mind that Barfkemmme had told me, that the head quarter the night before had been at West Calder. It provd to be as I thought, which, as I was afterwards informed, was commanded by Lieutenant Generall Drummond himselfe. I said to Wallace, "Sir, be not surprised, for this may prove to be a partie of your oun, which I saw ride up ane other hill a little while agoe." His answere was this; "They are tuo blacke," meaneing many, "to be a partie of ours; fy, fy, for ground to draw up on." To which I replyd, "You had best look for it elfwhere, for heere there is none." Both of us got presentlie on horsebacke, and since that time I never saw him. This I shall say of him, (rebell as he is,) he was constantlie civil to me, and I have charitie to beleeve, if he had not beene over ruled by others, the restraint of my libertie wold have beene the greatest hurt I might have expected from him. He tooke all his people, horse and foot, round about the Gallow Law, and drew them up in that order as first Lieutenant Generall Drummond,

and therafter Generall Dallyell saw them. I shall not offer to give your Grace ane account of the skirmish which the Kings Major Generall and his forepartie had with the rebels, and the succefull issue of it, or how long he stod with his partie after that skirmish, before the cavalrie came up to him; onlie this I may assure your Grace, that it was very comfortable to me to see him keepe his ground. Nor shall I trouble your Grace to tell you, how long it was ere the foot could come up . . . the horse, thogh all possible diligence, even to extremitie, was used by the Earles of Linlithgow and Kellie to bring the infantrie up. And thogh these noble lords, and all under their command, could not bot be so long and so arduous a march, (for thogh I was not with them, yet I went allmost foot for foot before them,) in most stormie and tempestuous weather, and very bad way; yet at night, after the fight, I found both their lordships, and all under them, not only readie to prosecute the victorie, bot if need had beene, to have followed that night the rebels, if they had endeavord, without fighting, to have made their retreate. Neither shall I offer to trouble your Grace with the errors the Rebels committed at this their last tryall, or with the succeſſe of that unhappy encounter, being I know all this hath beene sufficientlie done by his Majesties Lieutenant Generall and Major Generall. I shall onlie presume to give your Grace ane account of what they did not see, and what I did see.

After the encounter which the Major Generall had in the morning, I saw seven or eight of the Rebels horses come backe upon their squads, without riders; which, when thirtie or fortie of their horsemen (who were bot comeing up from the reare,) did perceave, they kepted on the high way to Linton, at a faire and full trot, without offering to turne

the hill to joyne with their brethren ; so much did selfe preservation prevaile over selfe denyall with these Covenanters. At which fight, three or foure of my guards askd me, what that flight meant. I dealt ingenuoufie with them, and told them, that these who fled, did like wise men and good subjects, in embracing the Kings Act of Grace ; and in obedience of the Kings proclamation, were goeing home to their houses ; and if my guards were wise, they would do the like, for they wold find it wold prove their safest course. I found I had spoke more honnestlie than prudentlie, for one of them told me I wold doe well not to use such discourageing words, and that he esteemd these who had deserted their partie were base, perjur'd, and cowards ; this taught me to be more wary afterwards. I was shortlie after that brought to the top of a litle hill, where I might see all was done. When the foot of his Majesties forces were joynd with the horse, my guards seemd to be somthing follicitous of their ounе safetie, which movd me to take the opportunitie to tell them, that they shoulf suffer none of their ounе armie to joyne with them, except these who were appointed to guard me, otherwise it might fall out that their guards, grouing numerous, might be calld doune by Wallace to fight ; to which I perceavd they had bot little stomacke. This advice they punctuallie followd. Then they desird me to use freedome with them, and tell them what my opinion was wold be the issue. I did not intend in this to satify their curiofitie, for I thought my posseffing them with vaine hopes, or dejecting them with fears, might prove equallie dangerous to me. I told them that the Kings Lieutenant Generall had stayd so long on the hill, that it was not probable he wold engadge with them that night ; and that he was lodged in so strong a ground, that it was not

possible for the Covenanters to attack him, with any hopes of success.

Not long after this, the Lieutenant Generall drew doun from the hill in very good order. This my guards and I saw with equall joy, bot with farre different thoughts ; for they told me they conceavd he wold march to Edinburgh, bot I had reason to be of ane other opinion. I was exceeding glad to see the matter brought now to a trial, at so great odds. I prayd heartilie for victorie to his Majesties forces, wherof I made no kind of doubt. I knew the odds of my particular condition might be this ; if the Rebels were beaten, I might probablie be sent to ane other world that very night ; bot if they were victorious, it was like I might be permitted to breath a day or tuo, and then put to death with some pretended forme of justice. We saw tuo gentlemen of the Kings armie try the ground on which they drew up afterwards, which they seemd to do exactlie. I understood therafter, that it was the Generall himselfe, and Muster master Generall Arnot. Both of them came so neere the Rebels that they could speake with them, and as I afterwards understood, the Generall was qualifid by them with the title of Episcopall rogue, and the Generall Muster master with that of saucie fellow.

Whill the Kings forces were takeing up their ground, I was carryed by my guards behind the little riseing of a ground, which hinderd me to see any thing. One Dandilling, a gentleman whom the Rebels had keepd prisoner with me fixe or seuen days, came and told me, that Mr Crukshank the minister, and one Thomas Maclellan, (a young gentleman who had done me severall good offices,) had beene both kild in the morning skirmish ; and that he conceavd the Generall was endevoring

to gaine the wind from the rebels. This was feconded by the report of tuo or three more of my guards. I desird I might be permitted to gode a litle from that place, and looke upon the Kings forces, assuring them I wold tell them my opinion freelie; this they granted. I saw the infantrie and left wing of the horse take up their ground, for the right wing had done it before. I rejoiced to see them so numerous; and then I told my guards, that the Generall would force them to fight that very night, and that he intended to give them faire play, for he had taken onlie the halfe of the wind to himselfe, and had left the other halfe for them; for the wind blew from the west.

When both parties were readie to advance, (for the rebels had chan ged their ground,) one Vetch, who was their pretended quarter-master, came and told my guards, that it was thought fitting that they and I sould come from the hill, and stand behind their bodie, onlie, as he said, to make a shew. We did so; bot by the way we met with Mr Welch and Mr Semple, who were goeing to take that advantage of ground whiich we formerlie had; and by doeing so, I thought both of them had provided indifferentlie well for their oune safetie. I stayd a litle with Mr Semple, who said to me, " Now, Sir James, that which we have beene disputting with you this fortnight bypast, since you were our prisoner, shall be decided in a very shourt time." " It is too like," said I, " bot whom blame you? If you had followd my advice, no blood bot mine had beene shed." We had some more discourse, not needfull now to rehearse.

When I saw the encounter wold be inevitable, and that my guards were doubtfull of the event, I thought it hie time to propone that to them which I had long premeditated, and which none of them could

at that nick of time reveale without their oune danger. My friends, said I, brusklie, “ the day will be either yours or ours. If yours, I am still your prisoner, and I beleieve I shall not be long troubled with you after your victorie. If the day proves ours, your lives and mine are in equall danger. If then the Kings forces gaine the victorie, defend you me from the violence of your partie in the flight, and I shall assure you of your lives.”

To this proposition the eight who were with me, (for the other eight had left me to my fortune,) readilie assented. “ Then,” said I, “ put your fuords in your left hands, and hold up your right hands to heaven, and let both you and me sueare the performance of our mutuall promises.” This was presentlie done ; “ And who will now say,” said I, “ that I am not a Covenanter ? ” Not long after this, we might heare Mr Welch and Mr Semple cry out very loudlie and very often, “ The God of Jacob, the God of Jacob,” without adding any more. This was, because they saw our commanded men give some ground ; my very latlie suorne guards echoed the same words, “ The God of Jacob, the God of Jacob.” I askd them what they meant. They ansuered, Could I not see the Lord of Hostes fighting for them ? I told them then very pafionatlie, that they understood not their oune condition, for they might see that party, which they thought was beaten, rally and stand. They could not bot see the whole bodie of our foot, and left wing of our horse, advance with much courage and in very good order, with trumpets sounding, and drums beateing. “ And in one word,” said I, “ if your partie doe not reele, runne and fly within one quarter of ane houre, then I shall be contented you pistoll me.” It fell out so, that thogh the rebels, for their number, fought desperatlie enough, yet it pleased the

Lord that they were beaten, and their horse fled apace. Whill I thought to make use of this opportunitie, came Canon of Mondroget, bleeding very fast, for wounded he was. He had professed kindnes to me formerlie for some curteisies I had done to some neere friends of his ; bot he told me then, that I must goe with him. I ansuered, that I was so pitifullie ill mounted that I could not ride up with him ; besides he knew I had no spurre allowd me, wherby I might helpe my nagge to runne. Bot he replyd, it was probable some of their officers might be made prisoners, and that I might helpe by exchange to relieve them ; therfor forward I must goe, for he neither could or would leave me behind him, and tooke God to witnes, it was much against his will. I told him, that fince sure it was he could not get me forward with him as I was mounted, and his partie being routed, and himselfe wounded, it wold be no advantage to him to kill a person who had never done him any injurie, whatever other crimes were layd to his charge ; and with that I lookd over my shoulder, (for my guards still forced me to ride after him,) and saw our horse pursueing eagerlie enough, and were not farre from us. Then I calld to Mondroget, and advisd him to looke about, and see who was pursueing him, telling him it was now more time to save his oune life, then to seeke after ane other mans. This advice he followd by galloping away. Foure more of my guards had left me out of feare ; the other foure were soone persuaded to turne with me. I then commanded a drummer of mine, who had waited constantlie upon me, to tell any officer he met with, that I was there. He rencounterd with Alexander Cokburne, a servant of my Lord Duke Hamiltons, who was well armd and mounted. He came to me with much kindnes, and gave me and my prisoners, (for such were now

my guards,) the word and the signe, and conducted me to my Lord Duke. His Grace was pleaseſd to reſſerve me with much civilitie and favour, and entertaind me with expreſſions of ſo much kindnes as I doe reallie acknowledge not to have deſerved. He gave order likewiſe that my prisoners ſould be kindlie uſed, till nixt day they were deliverd to the foot guards ; and not long after, upon my humble ſupplication, had their lives and liberties granted them.

I was told here, that the rebels had rallyd, and that Lieutenant Generall Drummond was calling for the troopes to advance to him, and the foot to follow. I was eaſilie perſuaded to beleeve theſe news to be true, and therfor reſolved to impart them to E. Linlithgow, whom I could eaſilie find out by the burning matches of his regiment, for now the day was ſpent. My lord was afoot, and it was ſome time before the kindnes of his officers and fojors did permit me to ſalute him. His lordſhip wellcomd me very affectionatlie, and I found he had draune up his regiment on the other ſide of the hill, where the rebels formerlie stood, and was there attending the motions of a partie of men, which he ſaw on the top of a hie adjoyning hill. Bot when I had given his lordſhip aſſureance that theſe he ſaw could be no other bot countrey people, in regard I knew the rebels had no reſerve ; he marchd with his regiment ſtraight to the Lieutenant Generall, with much cheerfullnes and alacritie, and was immediatlie followd by E. Kellie. Bot the Lieutenant Generall haveing told me, that upon his advance with the horſe the enemie was diſperſd, both horſe and foot went to quarters that night. Nixt day I had the good fortune to meet with the Generall, Lieutenant Generall, and many lords and other persons of qualitie, who all of them did with much kindnes and hu-

manitie congratulate my well neere dispaird of libertie ; which was very refreshing to me, after a shourt bot sad tryall of the vicissitude and instabilitie of humane affaires ; for all which I give to God the praise and the glorie to whom it duelie belongs.

End of the Relation made to the Earle of Rothes, His Majesties
Hie Commisioner.

The Narration continues.

HEERE was ane end of the Rebellion and my imprisonment, bot not of all my misfortunes. Thogh at my returne to Edinburgh, I found persons of all ranks and qualities professe kindnes to me, and seemd to be glad I had escapd so eminent a danger, yet everie man is not to be taken at his word ; the thoughts and designes of men are knoune to none bot to him who hath keepd it as his prerogative, to know the heart. The King haveing beene perfuaded before, that no insurrection was, or wold be intended against the present establisched government, was easilie induced to beleeve that my feveritie, or at best my undiscreet zeale, had occasiond the commotion. Bot yet it was not time to lay this at my doore ; something els must be done before.

It must be rememberd, what I sould haye spoke of before, that about the month of August 1666, his Majestie haveing open warre with three dangerous enemies, France, Denmark and Holland, had, for the defence of his kingdome of Scotland, causd his regiment of foot guards be

made up ten companies, each to consist of one hundredth men ; besides his castles, over whom he appointed E. Linlithgow to be Colonell, my selfe to be Lieutenant Colonell, and Colonell Urrey to be Sergant Major. He appointed also Generall Dallyell to raise a foot regiment of ten companies ; and his pleasure was, that ten troopes of horse, besides the tuo which were allreadie raisd, sould be speedilie levied, over all which forces he orderd the same Dallyell and Lieutenant Generall Drummond to command, the first in qualitie of Lieutenant Generall, and the second of Major Generall.

So soone as I came to Edinburgh, I intreated Generall Dallyell to call a councell of warre, wherin my deportment in these places where I had beene, might be impartiallie examined ; and if I were guiltie of these crimes that were publikelie talkd of, I might accordinglie be sentencd and punishd ; if not, that I might have ane approbation of what I had done. This was denyd me severall times, in regard there was no complainer, accuser, or accusation against me. Heerupon I addressd myselfe to the Privie Councell, my Lord Commissioner not being returnd from Court, and humblie beseechd their Lordships to heare and cognosce on any thing was said, or might be said against me. About this time, a libell was scatterd up and doun against me, wherin what blacke malice could invent or disgorge against myselfe, or any of these parties which had beene under my command, was set doun in the darkeſt dy. I ansuerd it, and all its parts, and in all its diſeptions, as I have allreadie said in my Relation. I intreated the Privie Councell, ſince there was none that appeard against me, except a *fama clamaſa*, and that libell, to which none could be found to affixe his name, that the libell itſelfe, and my ansuere to it, might be examind ; and

that therafter, their Lordships wold come to a sentence of approbation or condemnation of my proceedings. Upon this, the Councell appointed three of their number, to wit, my Lord Bellenden, my Lord Renton, and Sir Robert Murray, late provost of Edinburgh, to examine the whole matter, and make a report to them. This was accordinglie done; and after my Lord Commissioners returne, the report was made, that till the libeller did prove his paper, I was to be justified in all I had done. Now the libeller, even when a yeare therafter I was brought on the stge, and that he had a faire time offerd him to play his game above boord against me, never appeard personallie or by proxie, by word or by writ, directlie or indirectlie. And thogh Naphtali, in his infamous booke, hath set doun that libell allmost verbatim, and will persuade his reader that it was a true relation, and that my answere to it consisted onlie of negatives and denyalls, yet let any peruse my answere, (and many copies I have given of it,) they will find Naphtali as great a liar in that, as he is in most of the passages of that booke which he wrote against all that are in authoritie, from the lowest to the hieft; for there are many things in the libell, which in my answere I acknowledgd to be true; and that the actors of them were punishd by me, as haveing done things without my warrand. Many things I acknowledgd to have beene done by myselfe, for which I was warranted by my instructions. Many things, indeed, I absolutlie denied, because I knew them, *ex certissima scientia*, to be lies and calumnies. Many things were alleadged in the libell to have beene committed which, thogh true, could never have reflected on me, in regard I never heard either the actors or the crimes complain'd of, till I red them, first in the written libell, and then in printed Naphtali.

By example, where was my fault, if any unchristian horfman under my command, gave the remainder and crums of their dinners to their dogs, not alloueing any of them to the children of their landlords ? Or if any barbarous foyors (who fould have beene at church themselfs,) did beate some countreymen, whom they found praying among the rockes, on the Lords day ? Or if any prophane and godles trooper said, he wold recommend his camerad, who was a dying, by his letter to a friend of his who was in hell, to provide him good winter quarters ; how could these, I say, reflect on me, who never heard of them ? Indeed, if complaints had beene made to me, and I had neglected to have punishd such offenders, I had deservd to have beene banishd out of all Christian societie for ever. Bot these things are not so much as mentiond in all these depositions which the yeare after were taken, and upon oath too, from all the people in Galloway and Niddsdaill, where I had quarterd ; and it is not at all probable such complaints wold have beene sinotherd, where not onlie the people had a libertie, bot ane encouragement, to speake what they pleasd against me. Bot well may the nameles libeller, and shameles Naphtali write what they please, so long as they conceale their names, which I never did, nor intends to doe, from any thing I ever wrote in my life.

Bot the libeller is more to be excused than Naphtali, for the firſt had vented his libell before I was prisoner, and therfore knew not what the Rebels knew afterwards, when they had red my commission, instructions, and all my papers at Damellintoun ; where they confesd I had not done ſo much by halfe as by my orders I might have done. They then acknowledgd, I nor my partie had not got the fourth part of the money wherwith I was charged. This the libeller, I ſay, did

not know, when he wrote his libell. Bot Naphtali could not bot know it before he wrote that impudent booke of his, being he could not bot have learned it from the rebels, his deare correspondents. Yet wold he choose rather against truth and his ounē conscience, to grope after the libeller in the darke, then make use of the light he might have borrouid from his ounē beloved partie. What a monstrous soume did they make up, no leſſe than ſeventeene thouſand pounds ſterline, that I and my parties had got in moneys, meate, quarterings and bonds; yet the depositions of all thoſe that ever I had cefd or quarterd on, being exactlie taken on oath in the end of the yeare 1667, declares them impudent and shameles lyars; for it is yet to be ſeene in the councell office, that all which was pretended to have beene taken in three yeares time in cefſe, quarter, meate and drinke, moneys and bonds, yea, and irregular actions and plunderings, did not exceed tuo thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty pounds ſterline, not the fixth part of the libeller and Naphtalis soume. Bot they knew themſelvs that wrong account is no payment; bot to ſpeake truth, I thinke I have duelt too long with ſuch false accountants.

After this, I petitiond my Lord Commissioner and the Councell for ane approbation. Severall lords preſſd it with ſtrong reaſons, bot moſt ſaid, that the Councell haueing given me no commission, could not judge whether I had walkd according to my iñſtructions or not. Bot notwithstanding that, I was put in hopes to obtain my deſire at that time; yet he who had given me the commission by which I had acted, did nothing at all for me.

After I came out of prison, ſo ſoone as convenientlie I could, I petitioned the Councell for these prisoners who had beene of my guards,

as is set doun in my relation. The Councell referrd the matter to the Generall, who, at my interceffion, and their takeing the declaration, gave them their lives and liberties, and his passes to goe home, and I gave each of them a little money to carry them to their houfes. One more, who had beene my intelligencer, my Lord Commissioner, at my humble sute, savd from hanging at Aire, and therafter gave him his libertie.

After so pitiefull a toyle, I was adviced to purge ; and this hinderd me to goe west with my Lord Commissioner, when he marchd with the forces to reduce that countrey to order ; bot I followed him soone after, and waited on him at Glasgow when he came backe from Aire. Some fixe and threttie or therby of the rebels were hangd at Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aire. The rest, who were above a hundred, escaped one way or other. And now I appeale to Mr Naphtali himselfe, if any of these fixe and threttie ever mentioned my name in their speeches at their executions, or blamd me for oppreſſion, or directlie or indirectlie infinuated that I had occaſiond the insurrecſion. None knows better then Naphtali, who hath very carefullie collected all their testimonies, (as he calls them,) perhaps pend the moſt of them.

Generall Dalyells foot regiment lay a while at Aire, I thinke till June 1667. The regiment of guards was appointed to march to Edinburgh ; fixe companies lay in the Canongate, and I with foure more did ly at Lieth. It was dureing the convention of estates, who, by his Majesties command, were assembled to find out meanes to entertaine the late levied foot and horse, which were not to be a militia very long. Upon the eleventh of Februare, at tuelve of the clocke at night, I was calld away in haste to Glasgow to my wife, who had taken both a fud-

den and a dangerous disease, which was indeed the effect of that melancholie she had contracted for my imprisonment ; for though her carriage dureing that affliction was that which became both a sober and a christian woman, yet grieve had got so deepe ane impression in her heart, that she could not overcome it, no not with my restoration to libertie. I stayd three weeks with her ; and indeed all the crosses that had ever befallen me, and the last one too, which was one of the greatest, seemd no thing to me in comparison of that I then sufferd, by the sad apprehension I had to be separated from so deare and so precieous a yoakefellow. It pleaseid God she betterd, and the phisitians assureing me there was no more danger, I returnd to my charge at Lieth. Bot the very nixt day after my comeing, I was advertisid that she was fallen in a dangerous relapse. I returnd to Glasgow, haveing first causd shew my Lord Commissioner, the Generall, and E. Linlithgow, the cause of my sudden departure. At my arriveall at Glasgow, I found her heavilie sicke ; some intervalls of ease she had, bot both few and short. I stayd three weekes with her the second time, till it pleaseid the Lord to better her condition so farre, that the phisitians once more thought my longer stay needles. This mercy comforted me more than my late misfortune had afflicted me.

When I came to Edinburgh in Aprile, I found the regiment of guards was removd to Fife, to defend that coast against forreine invasion. Everie companie had a toune alloued for quarter, and mine had St Andrews. I lookd on all the companies in passing, before I came to St Andrews, the Archbishop wherof I found very sicke of a tertian. Nothing past that summer in Scotland, of acts of hostilitie worthie remembrance, except that Van Gent, one of the Vice-admiralls of Hol-

land, with tuo and threttie gallant men of warre, came up the Firth ; who, having spent to no purpose, above one thousand shot of canon at Burnt Iland, and killd onlie one fisher at the Weims, returnd that same night, hayeing both wind and tide to carry him away. In Burnt Iland were my Lord Commissioner himselfe, E. Linlithgow, and tuo companies of foot ; a troope of horse comeing to them shorlie after. At Kircaldie, was Colonell Urrey with tuo foot companies more ; the other sixe companies were with me at the Eli, a place most fit for them to land at. Trulie, if that Hollander had put it to the hazard to have landed his foot, which in so many vessells could be no fewer then three thousand, at any place bot where we were, I thinke in all probabilitie he might have plunderd and burnd the most, if not all the touns of that coast, the countrey not being in any kind of posture of defence. Bot the same Van Gent, as they say, behavd himselfe more advantagouslie for his masters, and more misfortunatlie for England that same summer at Chattum. Many other alarms we had, bot they provd all false ones, and it was well so ; for if we had beene handsomlie attackd, we might have had just reason to have had more then the halfe of the feare.

About Lambes of the yeare 1667, his Majestie haveing concluded a firme peace with all these neighbours of his who had made warre against him, to ease his kingdome of Scotland of the great burthen lay on it, for the maintenance of so great a militia, he orderd all his troopes of horse except tuo, to be disbanded, and Generall Dallyells regiment of foot likewise. In the beginning of September, he commanded three companies of the ten wherof his regiment of guards consisted, to be sent to France, the Captaines therof haveing belonged formerlie to

Lord George Douglas in that kingdome. The fifteenth day of September was appointed for them to march from Enster to Burnt Iland, to reffave what was oueing them, and then to goe a shipboord. Bot most of the sojors haveing aie aversion from the French service, and preying on the Captaines weakenes, who were Melvill, Ritherfurd and Lieth, mutined, refusing to march, and calling imperiouslie for their pay. If the Captaines had beene either wise or liberal, they might have engadged most of all their sojors to goe with them to France, by giveing each of them a croune or tuo at most, in hand, as levie money, and so both have prevented the mutinie, and carried over their companies; for the King had declarid he wold force none of them to goe. Bot as avarice is the root of all iniquitie, so it provd heere; for the narrow hands of the Captaines lost them both their livelihoods and reputations. Neither did they take any course befitting militarie men, to compesce the mutinie. Tuo of them fled, the third was detaind in the qualitie of a prisoner, never one of the three ever offering to draw a fuord. The rest of the officers shifted for themselvs. The tuo that thought they had sped well by haveing escapd, stayd at Leven and refreshd themselvs and horses, at all leisure, without so much as acquainting the Earle of Rothes, who was Captaine Generall, or E. Linlithgow, who was their Colonell, thogh the first was at Balgonie within four miles of them, the seconnd at Edinburgh; or did they ever offer to send to me, who was their Lieutenant Colonell, thogh they knew well enough where I might be found. They went therafter to Kircaldie, and after a breathing, one of them went to Edinburgh, and the other to my Lord Chanclor. Mellvill rencountering by chance with a servant of mine, wrote to me, in what condition he had left Enster; this letter came to

a gentlemans house where I was, about tuelve a clocke at night. I wrote instantlie to Colonell Urrey, to bring E. Linlithgows companie from Kircaldie, and his oun from Disart; with him to the Eli, where I sould, God willing, meet him. I wrote also to Saint Andrews, for my oun companie to march with all haste thither.

Nixt morning I rode to the Eli, where I found Sir George Curror ficke and bedfaft, bot his companie in armes and in good order, as was also Captaine Whites at Pittenweim. I sent Lieutenant Leviston of Westquarter, who belongd to these mutinous companies, to tell the mutineers that I was come to heare and redresse their grievances, and therfor requird them to meet me without the toune in the field. They returnd me ansuere, that for severall reasons they could not leave the toune, bot I sould be very wellcome to come in to them. I did so, and was met at the entrie by threttie musketeers, for my honor, said they, to convoy me to the shore, where I found them all in armes, with their collors flying. I was environd round, and so close, that I could not get my horse movd from the place where I stood. I perceavd the mutinie had comd to a great heighth, for they had chosen their officers and speakers, and presented me with a petition directed to E. Linlithgow, and in his absence, to me. I harangud them, and demonstrated to them the ouglines and follie of this action of theirs; I cryd up their former loyaltie and services, and advised them not to staine the reputation of them by this tumultuarie and unadvised rashnes of theirs, which I wold not tearme mutinie, wherof I knew so gallant men could not be guiltie. I did not faile likewise to shew them, that I knew how to force the most disobedient of them to duetie, bot hopd they wold be wiser as to put a necessitie on either me, or these above me, to make use

of our pouer. I rallied and made merrie with some of them, and they made sport with me ; and in end, after many discourses, I promisid they shoule be payd at Burnt Iland all was duelie owing to them, and that none of them shoule be forced to goe a shippboord against his will. They desirid to be payd and disbanded there where they were ; this I wold by no meanes grant. Their muskets were chargd with two balls at least, many with three ; some of the mutineers gave fire upon the houses over my head. At length I commanded drums to beate, and crying, "God save the King," which they likewise did, I orderd the colliers to follow me ; and without more noyse, carried them fairlie to Leven; seven miles from the place where they were, and the nixt day to Burnt Iland, where they were all disarm'd and disbanded.

So soone as my Lord Chancellor knew of the mutinie, he wrote to E. Linlithgow to come over out of Edinburgh to appease it. Strange and very strange it was, he wold not write to me, who, he knew, was within foure miles of him. And as strange it was in E. Lithgow, to thinke that I wold be so tame as to sit still and doe nothing till he came ; for so soone as he arrivd at Burnt Iland, he wrote to Saint Andrews, (thinking I was there,) for me to meet him at Enster. His letter I got on the 16th of September, at night, when I was quartering the mutineers at Leven. A drummer, who was an Englishmen, and seven or eight more, who had beene the ringleaders of the mutinie, were feizd on at Burnt Iland ; for I had promisid indemniti to none of them, neither indeed did ever any of them seeke it from me. Bot by a private advice from the Privie Councell, I suffered them all to make their escapes, a month or therby thereafter, out of the tolbooth of Leith.

A month and more before this mutinie, Generall Dallyell acquainted me, that E. Kellie had told him, that there was a resolution to take my charge from me, and to give it to him. I beleeve his Lordship got a very rough reprimend from some of his friends, for not keeping his ounse secrets better. I was apt to beleeve there was such a designe, and therfor resolvd rather to goe out, then to be thrust out. I made a proffer of my charge to my Lord Kellie, provided I might be Major, and Colonell Urrey eldest Captaine, as we had formerlie beene. My Lord had good reason to thanke me for so kind ane offer. In the meane time, I movd my Lord Chancellor to write someting of it to E. Lauderdaleill; who returnd him ansuere, that he had never heard of any such thing before.

Sir Robert Murray, Privie Counsellor and Commissioner of the Treafurie, told me, much about that time, that the King haveing heard some grieveous complaints of me, intended to order his Privie Councell to examine the matter. I told him, I wonderd any complaint shoulde come to the King of me, since none was made to the Councell, to whom it properlie belonged, to take notice of such affaires; it not being ordinarie to runne directlie to the King, *per saltum*, in contempt of that authoritie which he had establisched in Scotland. He ansuerd, the King did in these things as he pleasd. I said, I thought it very strange, I was not brought soone on the stage, it being now neere a tuelvemonth since I came out of prison. He gave me indeed a reason, which hugelie increasid my admiration. So long, said he, as the armie stood, you were too strong for your accusers, neither durst they be seene against you; bot now, that the forces, for most part, are disbanded, the Councell may take notice of you with lesse trouble. I replyd, that

then I had beene mistaken formerlie, in thinking that the armie wold rather have affisted justice to be administered, then have given any obstruction to it ; and with that we parted.

Meane while E. Kellies friends thought it fit he sould gett me to ratifie under my hand the proffer I had made him, which, they thought, being bot verball, I might avouch or deny as I pleased. I resolvd they sould see I was a man of my word ; and therfor immediatlie, by way of letter, made my former offer, and that without any hesitation. My letter was sent to Court, and instantlie his Majesties order came to the Councell, to see E. Kellie admitted Lieutenant Colonell, and Colonell Urrey and myselfe returne to our former charges ; which was accordingle done, in presence of my Lord Bellenden and Sir Robert Murrey, in the fands of Lieth, the 2d of November, 1667.

I thought, by this addresse of mine, I had conjurd away the storme prettie well ; bot I had cast up a wrong account, for a letter from the King, of the date of the 17th of November, came to the Councell, in which, among other things, he commands their lordships to call me before them, to examine my deportments strictlie, and what moneys I had exacted, and make a report of all to his Majestie. The Councell appoints a committee of nine of their number, which consisted of the principall councellors, foure or five wherof were of the long robe. At this time, neither my Lord Chancellor nor E. Tweeddaill were comd from Court. I am brought before this committee, and once I intended to have pleaded, that I could not be accusd of any thing I had done dureing the time I was Lieutenant Colonell, being his Majesties conferring the new charge of Major upon me insinuated a pardon of any crime I formerlie could have beene guiltie of ; bot I resolvd not to clash

with the King in any thing, much leſſe to quible in a busienes which concernd myſelfe ſo very neare.

The Committee was civill to me ; the President of the Seſſion being chofen President, cauſd offer me a chaire, which I abſolutlie refuſed, being, I ſaid, I was before them in the qualitie of a defender, and they were the repreſentatiues of my judges. They inquired, which of the tuo I thought moſt conuenient to be done, in order to his Majefties commands ; whether to referre the matter to my oune relation, which they hopd wold be ingenuouſ, or if they ſould ſend one of their oune chooſing to Niddſdaill and Galloway, to affiſt ſuſh gentlemen of that countrey as the Councell ſould impouer, to take depoſitions againſt me. I frelie told them, the ſhorteſt way wold be to take my oune relation, which I promiſd ſould be a faithfull one ; for I wold acknowledg the reſſaiſt of as muſh as all the depoſitions they could get wold amount to ; and after the conculſion of the whole busienes, they both found and acknowledg'd that to be true, what I then told them. Bot at this time they reſolvd both to take my relation, and ſend one from themſelvſ also ; for it ſeemeſ they thought it was good to be ſure. Mr James Thomſone, a commiſſare and ane exchequer man, was deſired to goe ; bot he refuſed the employmēt, ſaying he wold not ſo badlie requite the fauours he pretended to have reſſaved from me. Bot ane other was quicklie found, for fifteene ſhillings ſterline *per diem*, one Buntein, ane under cleark of the exchequer. Him they diſpatch with all neceſſare orders and iſtructions. This act of councell, to invite, deſire, nay, conſtraine men to complaine, hath had, for any thing I know, bot few or no precedents. My firſt compeareance was on the 27th of November, and Buntein was orderd to returne againſt the firſt of Januare 1668.

I desird libertie till then, to goe and stay at Glasgow with my wife, who was then sicke, which was fairlie granted me. Nixt day I rode thither, where indeed I found my deare wife, (who had had bot litle health all that summer, and whom I had not seene in eight months before,) sicke of a lent feaver. About Christmas, she being somewhat convalesced, I tooke my leave of her, and returned to Edinburgh, there to waite for Buntein, of whose motions, actings and practises against me, I had sufficientlie good intelligence; and both he, and these who sent him, did find I was not so hated as they had fancied, bot had acquird the affection of the best and honnestest of the gentrie, who faild not to let me know all that passd wherin they conceavd I might be concernd. At my comeing to Edinburgh, I found by the committee of the counsell, that Buntein pretended he had not yet done all his busines, thogh the time prefixed to him was well neere expired. It is like he desird the continuation of his daylie falarie of fifteene shillings sterline; and I found the committee was not averse to allow him it for a longer time, perhaps thinking the longer time they gave him, the greater feats he wold be able to doe against me. Bot his strength was spent, and he came backe in the beginning of Januare. I must not forget to tell, how the gentlemen, who were deputed by the Councell for takeing depositions against me or my partie, did examine all or most on oath; a thing in itselfe illegall, at leaft seldome or never practisid, for a mans oath in his oun cause proves nothing; yet this these gentlemen did, not without my private assent, for I found a benefite by it; the malice of many of the phanaticks being such, as they wold have declarid any thing against me, or these under my command, if they had not beene restraint by the dreadfull awe of ane oath.

After the Committee had seene and perused all the declarations and depositions which Buntein had brought, one of them (whom I need not name,) drew up fifteene grieveances of illegall and disavouable proceedings of mine, all of them grounded, as they said, upon these declarations. This monstrous paper of grieveances was a month a hatching ; then I was sent for, and desird to ansuere them. I told the lords, that these declarations, on which the grieveances were pretended to be grounded, must be all legallie proven, els they could doe me no hurt. Bot least their Lordships sould thinke, that I tooke advantage of the impossibilitie of that probation, (for no witnessses could be led against me bot these who were *socii criminis*,) I was readie to take the paper and ansuere it, provided they gave me time, and I desird a month. Bot Sir Robert Murrey told me, that it being now in Februare, and the Lords to goe to the countrey in the beginning of March, the ordinarie time of vacancie, so long a time could not be alloued me ; yet all or most consented to a fortnight. I desired to have the declarations or deposicions given me, that I might see how cheerlie the grieveances were deduced from them ; bot I was told, I sould have accessse to the Councell Chamber where these papers were keepd, bot they could not suffer them to be carried elfwhere. I thought this was severe, not to give it a worse name ; bot I did not value much this refuseall, for I had a perfite copie of them all sent me by my friends, which I reffaved before Buntein arrivd at Edinburgh with the principall.

Before the fortnight came to ane end, E. Tweeddaill returnd from Court ; his Lordship was appointed to be ane additionall member of my committee. The time prefixd to me being expird, I appeard ; where I found E. Tweeddaill, after debate, voted to preside. He did not for-

beare to exerce that charge with vigour enough, yet with very much discretion and civilitie, which sueetned the bitter pill I knew I was to swallow ; for I perceavd that thogh by not acknouledging myselfe guiltie, I should save my reputation a litle, yet in the end I must succumbe ; for the promise of my charge to E. Kellie told me I was pre-condemned. I gave in my answers, which were read and heard attentivelie enough ; bot some of them relateing to my commiission and instructions, I was desird to shew them to the Committee. I told them, that which was true, that I had neither of them, for when the rebels tooke myselfe, they tooke also them and all my other papers. And indeed, when I was first questiond, I was not master of them, thogh afterwards, with much paines and trouble, and the pouerfull mediation of moneys, I got them againe in my hands. The reason I wold not shew them was, that I feard matter of complaint might be pickd out of them, which wold not at all save me ; and this I was sensible enough of, that the showing them might wrong my Lord Chancellor, and doe me no good ; for I was told that I was lyable to punishment for giveing obedience to illegall commands. I was questiond therafter about some particulars of my written defences, as also concerning tuo written declarations given in against me by tuo malitieous and infamous persons, not without the instigation of my Lord Cochran, one of my committee, and consequentlie one of my judges ; which declarations I might easilie have repeld, by telling the Lords that I wold answere none of them, till the base accusers undertooke to prove them, which was purlie impossible. Bot to them and all other interrogatories, I gave such returns as were interpreted, even by these who were none of my best friends, to be moderate, submisſe, ingenuous and can-

dide ; and indeed I was informed, some of them said I had given a full demonstration I was not the man I was characterd to be, proud, passionate, hastie and furieous. And yet I confess, my humour never was, nor is not yet, one of the calmeſt ; when it will be, God onlie knoues ; yet by many sad passages of my life, I know that it hath beene good for me to be afflicted. By this testimonie of theirs I was a gainer, thogh I losd my charge. I was defird to tell them extemporarlie, how much the free quarter, meate and drinke, bonds and money, exacted by me and my parties, the three fevall times I was in Galloway, might extend to. I told their lordships, I knew well enough that the depositions of all parties concerned, in which were set doun plunderings, did not exceed three and threttie thousand pounds Scots ; of that I could abate, even in their oun judgments, five thousand pounds ; neither was I bound to acknouledge the rest, for it could never be made out against me ; yet to ease their lordships of further trouble, and shew them my oun ingenuitie, I wold charge myſelfe with threttie thousand pounds. They openlie declar'd that they thought I had spoke ſo ingenuouſlie, that more could not be chargd upon me. Where are then the feveteene thouſand pounds ſterline wherwith the infamous libeller and nameles Naphtali charge me ? Haveing beene keepd by the Committee above foure houres, I was diſmifd ; and indeed I will fay, that the whole time of my tryall I was dealt with as a gentleman ; for they never offerd to imprifon, arrest or bayle me, or yet did ever command me to forbear the exercife of my charge, for I on my command, till the very laſt minute that I layd doun my commiſſions.

My busines now drauing neere a close, a report was draune up, to be ſent to his Majestie by one of the members of the Committee, (whom

I need not name;) and as to the rest, some of them got some harsh words expungd, and made the report something smoother, as indeed at best it was bot bad enough. The day it was to be red in the Privie Councell, I petitiond their lordships that I might be permitted to see it, before it was sent to the King. This many of the Lords thought very modest and most reasonale; others wold not heare it, alledging, it was to lay the Committee and me in a ballance, and to make them my partie, and consequentlie send them all to the barre as well as me. The matter for a while was well enough debated, bot carried in the negative, and declarid I shuld not see the report till it was sent away. Bot to please me, they orderd, after it was off, a copie of it to be given me, and so indeed there was one nixt day in the afternoone, when I beleive the post of the principall was the length of Morpeth. Before I proceed further, it will be fit to give a true copie of the Report, by which the fifeteene grieveances, wherwith I was formerlie charged, are not onlie set doune in base caracters, bot are convoyd to the King with fixe more to accompany them.

A true Copie of the Report sent to his Majestie concerning me, from
Edenburgh the nineteeneth of Februare 1668.

The Lords of his Majesties Councell did no sooner rellaye his Majesties commands, in his gracious letter of the tuentie one of November last, for takeing exact examination of Sir James Turners deportment in the west, bot they orderd and impouerd a Committee of their number to inquire diligentlie into them; and by their Report it appears, that,

upon information from the Stewartrie of Kirkcubright, given in upon oath of parties, or their masters, or their neighbours, many illegall exactions have beene made, and disorders committed. Such as, First, quartering of sojors for levieing fines and impositions. Secondlie, Exacting cesse for quartering money for more sojours then were actuallie present, somtimes for double the number or more, (and that besides free quarter for these present,) somtimes 8 pence, somtimes tuelve pence, somtimes 16 pence, and somtimes more, for each man. 3°. Cesse exacted for diverse dayes, somtimes for eight, ten, or more, before the partie did actuallie appeare. 4°. Imposeing of fines, and quartering, without any previous citation, or heareing of parties. 5°. Fineing without due information from ministers. 6°. Fineing such as livd orderlie, as appears by ministers testifcates. 7°. Fineing and cessing for causes for which there are no warrants from acts of parliament or councill; as first, baptiseing of children by outed ministers; secondlie, baptiseing by neighbouring ministers, where the parish church is vacant; thirdlie, for marrying by outed ministers; fourtlie, for keeping conventicles. 8°. Fineing for whole years preceeding his comeing to the countrey, and that after they had begun to live orderlie. 9°. Fineing fathers for their daughters baptiseing children by outed ministers, thogh forffamiliate fix months before, and liveing in another parish. 10°. Fineing without proportionating the soume with the fault. 11°. Fineing whole parishes promiscuoullie, as well those that lived orderlie as these that did not. 12°. Fineing whole parishes where there was no incumbent minister. 13°. Fineing one that lay a yeare bedfaст. 14°. Forceing bands from innocent people. 15° Cessing of people that were not fyned. 16°. Takeing away cattle and other goods. All these acts

are illegall misdemeanors. Of other kinds there are, 17°. Agreeing for cesse and fines both in one soume, wherby accounts were confounded. 18°. Not admitting complainers who were cestd upon, to come to his presence ; alleadged to have beene his constant custome. 19°. Permitting his servants to take money for admitting people to him, and yet acceffe denyd. 20°. Increaseing the number of quartering sojourns after complaints. 21°. Exacting of moneys for removeing of sojors after cesse and fynes were payd.

Everie one of the forgoeing articles is made out by information upon oath, which yet doth not amount to a legall prooфе ; which, in most of these cases, will be difficult if not impossible to obtaine, in regard that no witnessses can be had that are not lyable to exception, unles by examineing officers, sojors and servants, which wold take up much time and labour.

Sir James Turners defences as to such of the forgoing articles as he acknouledged, are commissions and instructions from the then Lord Commissioner, for quartering to raise fines, for fineing such who forbore goeing to church, or married or baptised by outed ministers, or keepd conventicles ; and that upon the delation of credible persons, and to preferre them to these of ministers. Bot he doth affirme, all his commissions and instructions were taken by the rebels, when he was made prisoner, and so hath nothing to show for his vindication. And for all the other heads above written, he either denys matter of fact, ascribes the transactions to others, or pleades ignorance.

The soumes of money refлавed for fines and cesse, and bonds taken, he acknouledged to have amounted to be threttie thoufand pounds scots. The soumes charged on him by the countrey, besides quartering,

comes to about threttie eight thousand pounds Scots ; wherin is not reckond what was exacted from any of those who rose in rebellion, and some parishes in Galloway from whence no information was returned.

And as to his surprifall, he fayth, First, he had bot sixtie fixe foot in these parts under his command. Secondlie, that they were all dispersed throw the countrey about the fines, so that there was not so many left with him as to keepe guard at his lodgeing, nay, not so much as one, some nights before. Thirdlie, that he had no order to keepe a guard about him, or to fortifie himselfe, thogh thiere be a strong house within the toun called the Castell, to which he might have retired with some thretteene sojournis that came in that night before he was taken. Fourthlie, that he had intelligence there was a rifeing in the countrey ; and that a corporall of his was shot, who told him that there were divers persons got together, who had intelligence from the north of a rifeing there, with ane intention to march to the citadell of Aire, and to feize it and the armes which had beene taken from the countrey. Fifthlie, that about midnight, he wrote to George Maxwell of Munches. Sixthlie, he sent orders to some more of his sojourns to meet him the nixt morning, intending towards Newgalloway, where the rifeing was reported to be. Seventhlie, that he rose about fixe of the clocke that morning, bot being indisposed, lay doun againe, and being up in his goune about eight a clock, he was surrounded and taken.

This is all that can be expected for his Majesties present information concerning Sir James Turner. As to what further concerns the money he intromitted with, it may be lookd after, according to the way his Majestie shall appoint.

End of the Report.

The fending away of this Report to the King without permitting me to see it, was the hardest measure I met with the whole time of my tryall, and perhaps is ane action that wants a precedent. I wrote ane answere to that Report, and everie article of it, and that so ingenuouslie and candidlie that I could, to verifie the truth of it, goe to death. Bot finding it was in vaine to shew it to the Councell, now that the busines was out of theirs, and in the Kings hands, and feareing, if I sould send it to Court, either no use, or a bad use sould be made of it, I onlie shew it to some of my friends. The copie of it follows.

My Answere to the Report.

The Report which the honourable Committee made to the Lords of his Majesties Privie Councell, and which their Lordships sent to his Majestie concerning me, had nothing in it on their parts bot truth, neither enterd it ever in my secretest thoughts to question the veritie of it ; I meane still, on their part ; for they bot reported these things that were alleadged against me, and many of them suorne by the parties. Bot because their lordships in that Report affirme, that no legall prooфе was got, or could possiblie be obtained, I shall beg libertie shortlie, bot verie ingenuouslie, to answere everie article of that Report.

1°. The first I acknowledg to be true, and was warranted for it by the fourth article of my instructions, dated the 6th of March, 1666.

2°. I absolutlie deny, that I ever gave order, permitted or connivd at any such exactions, neither was there ever any complaints of that nature brought to me ; and the contrare of this, I say, will never be provd. My answere to the 7th and 8th grieveances cleers it fullie.

3°. I deny that ever any such thing was done by my order or connivence; and if it was done at all, it hath beene by secret transactions betweene the parties and the sojors, without my knouledge; neither was ever any such thing complain'd of, as is more fullie contain'd in my answere to the sixth grieveance.

4°. The fourth I grant to be true, as being obliged to it by my orders, as appeareth by the formentiond fourth article of my instructions. Neither, indeed, was it possible to use any such previous citation or formal processse, nor was it needfull, the most of the parties acknowledg-ing guilt.

5°. Ministers could not give due information of conventicle keepers; and I was obliged by my commission to ceſſe upon, and fyne ſuch without the ministers, the thing being made cleere to me otherwife, as more fullie appears in my answere to the third and fifth grieveances.

6°. It neither can or ever will be prov'd, that I fynd or ceſſd on any that livd orderlie. As to the ministers testficates, two instances were given in the grieveances, the one of Keirick parish, which perhaps may be true, thogh I do not at all remember either the thing or the parish. The other is of Irongray, to which I ſhall ſpeak in my answere to the ninth article. To both I ſay now, I was not obliged to regard testficates from neither minister or other man, after ſubſcribed lifts were given me, as appears by the fourth article of my instructions.

7°. The seventh article is ſubdivided in foure. To the first I answere, I granted I did ſo, and was warranted for it by the first article of my orders, dated the 9th of May, 1666. To the ſecond I ſay, it is a meere calumnie, for I exhorted all who had no minister of their oun, to goe to the nixt adjacent church, both for heareing the word, and getting

the benefite of the sacraments ; and never hinderd or dischardg any, provided the minister who officiated was conforme ; if not, I could not permit it, being orderd to the contrare in the formentiond first article of my orders, dated the 9th of May, 1666. The third I grant, being warranted to it by the formentiond articles of my instructions. The fourth I grant, being warranted by the third article of my instructions, dated the 6th of May, 1666.

8°. I grant I did so with some wicked, malitieous and obstinate contemners, whom the bishops and ministers gave me in their lists, for I was to be ruled by them for the time when I beganne to cease. Bot assurredlie I find none whom they declared to have begunne to live orderlie ; for they thought it not enough that some, at my approch to them, declared they wold keepe the church afterward. Bot with whom the ministers were satifified, so was I too. Bot neither they nor I were satifified with the hipocriticall carrieage of one of the worst of men, Steuart of Cullgruff, for whose sake this article is foysted in.

9°. The honorable Committee hath put in this article, upon a most unjust and false information. It is the busines of Irongray. First, it was no baptisme, bot a marriage. Secondlie, the woman was not forisfamiliated. Thirdlie, she livd in her fathers house, and not in ane other parish. Fourthlie, the wedding dinner was keepd in her fathers house. Fifthlie, she was married by a nonconformist, haveing refused to be married by tuo conformists, who livd neerer her father then the other did. And this I was not to suffer, by the whole series of my instructions ; yet that there was some severitie used in that busines, I doe ingenuoulie confess.

10°. To the tenth I say, if I did not proportionate the soume to the

fault, it was done in favour of the partie, in not exacting so great a fine as his fault deserved ; that ever I exceeded, is a groundles calummie will never be proved, the contrare being acknouledgd by the phanatikes themselvs ; and it is knoune, that at most, I never from the greatest transgessor exacted the halfe of the fines.

11°. This eleventh article was the first grieveance, and the tuo instances of the parishes of Kirkcunzon and Anwith, will be so farre from proveing it, that they demonstreate the contrare. And the Earle of Niddsdaill, who had once the greatest share of the first, and Sir Alexander Mackullock, who hath the greatest interest in the last, will testifie the contrare. I quarterd indeed on severall persons of these parishes, bot upon none bot deficients, as more fullie appears in my answere to the first grieveance.

12°. I never find a whole parish, bot I grant I find some deficients in severall parishes where there were no incumbents ; because they went not to the nixt churches where conforme ministers were, which they were bound to doe by the Act of Councell 1662.

13°. If the thretteenth article be provd, I shall acknouledge myselfe to be voyd both of christiantie and of humanitie ; I have spoke to it fullie in my answere to the eleventh grieveance.

14°. I never forced a bond from any, much lesse from innocent people ; if any have accusd me of it, they were bound by law to prove it, which is purlie impossible

15°. I acknouledge I cesd on many whom I find not. It was upon promise of future obedience, and this I had power to doe by the third article of my instructions, dated the 9th of May, 1666. Bot I had no power to abate any thing of the sojors cesse, which the Councell had

alloued them ; bot, good God ! could any man have thought, that any favour I did these people, wold have appeard against me under the notion of a grieveance.

16°. Such things were never done by my order, and when I knew the sojors had done it, I restored the cattle and punished the sojors.

17°. This was sometimes done, at the earnest intreatie of the deficients, as ane ease to them ; nor were accounts therby confounded, for I payd the sojors their cesse duelite, and keepd the rest for fine, as is more fullie set doune in answere to the eighth grievance.

18°. I never all my life refusd to admit people to me who had busines with me, unles I have beene sicke. And my indisposition that summer was so frequent, that it is well enough knoune that, betweene the 20th of March and the middle of November, I was seven times let blood ; and so this grievance signifiess little, besides that it is false.

19°. I remember, some complainid that my servants tooke money to admit people to me ; bot I beleeve, never one of them said that I permitted them to doe so, so the article is very ill worded. Besides, if my servants did so, they had neither command, permission or connivance from me. I onlie shall say, it will be hard, if not impossible, for any man that is in publick trust or charge, to answere for all their servants escapes of that nature.

20°. If the article be meand, that the more obstinate the defient was, the more sojors I quarterd on him, then it is true ; if otherwise, it is most false, neither will it ever be provd true ; in that fence the article holds it out.

21°. If this last article be provd, I shall be infamous ; yet such things being so frequentlie spoke of in the depositions, and chargd upon some

under my command, bot never upon myselfe, I am apt to beleeve that some under me have abusd both the people and me, bot none ever haveing complaind of it, I could not redrefse it.

As to what is spoke in the Report of what I said for my oun justification, I wish all I said to everie grieveance had beene mentiond, as well as what I was accusd of. They are yet extant in the Councell Chamber.

The Report sayth, I acknouledgd 30,000 lb. Scots for quarter cesse moneys and bonds, and so I did. It sayth, moreover, that 38,000 lb. was charged on me by the countrey for cesse moneys and bonds, besides free quarter. Heere I am bound to animadvert to tuo things. First, there is a fallacie, for 38,000 lb. was chargd on me in the first examination by the Master of Herreis and Baldoun ; which was so grosse and ouglie, that the Councell thought it not fitting to take up their measures by it, bot examind me upon the second report brought in by Buntein, which exceeded not 33,000 pound Scots, in which also was set up the sojors plunderings. Secondlie, that which the Councells Report calls free quarter, the countrey people calls cesse ; and so free quarter and cesse are all one, which the Report seems to distinguish very disadvantageouslie for me. As to what I tooke from those that were in the rebellion, it was bot little ; bot it was not forgot to be given up by their friends to Buntein, which is obvious in many places of his papers.

For my surprisall, I have no more to say bot what I have said all-readie ; bot the penner of the Report hath mistaken himselfe in these particulars. I never said I could fortifie myselfe in that strong house, (as he calls it) or Castle of Drumfries. If I had had intelligence of the rebels comeing, I wold have endeavord to defend the bridge, and not

a house, which could not be made defensible bot in a long time. Secondlie, I had no intelligence that there was any riseing in the countrey, otherwise I wold not have stayd in Drumfreis. The shooting of my corporall onlie alarmd me. Thirdlie, my letter to Munches, was, that he, as stewart depute, wold looke after these rogues who had shot my corporall ; this is in my defences, bot omitted in the report. Fourthlie, the intelligence I had of a riseing in the north, was not at all to be trusted till further inquirie ; neither did I ever say, that I had heard the north countrey people intended to have taken the citadell of Aire. That sould have beene done by the west countrey men, if by any.

So ends my Ansuere to the Report.

Ten dayes, if I remember right, after the Report was to Court, namelie, on the seventh of March, my Lord Chancellor arrivd at Edinburgh. He was met with hundredths of the nobilitie, gentrie, burgesses and soldierie. E. Linlithgow orderd me to reffave the word from him. He gave it me very publicklie, without any ceremonie, which made many thinke the King had continued him Captaine Generall ; bot my nixt nights seekeing it from him cleerd the matter, for he told me that he was obliged to thanke my Lord Linlithgow for his civilitie, and that he had accepted of it the first night, in regard he knew it was done to honor him ; bot haveing layd doune his commission of Generall at Court, he wold not pretend to give the watch word any more.

That very night my Lord Chanclor came, arrivd a poft who brought a letter from the King to the Councell, in which he orderd them to call me before them, and in his name to command me to lay

doune his commissions which he had given me, and to call me to ane account for what moneys I had reflaved ; and what I was found to be justlie owing, to take it from me, and to put it to such pieous uses as they thought fitting. This was the result of the Report. On the tenth of March, a macer was sent to the withdrawing roome privatlie, to desire me to goe into the Councell ; for the Lords were pleasd to use me with so much respect, as not to suffer the macer to call publicklie for me, or to suffer any to enter with me, thogh both in such cases be ordinarie. Being at the barre, my Lord Chancellor told me what his Majesties pleasure was. I had fullie resolvd before with myselfe, to vindicate his Majesties justice by takeing some guilt upon me ; for besides that I thought all loyall subjects shoud doe so, I had reason to imagine, if I shoud plead not guiltie, I might be usd severlie enough. I had therefore premeditated what to say, which I uttered in these, or the like expreßions.

My Speech to my Lord Chancellor, and the Privie Councell, when I
layd doune my Commissions, the tenth of March, 1668.

My Lord Chanclor,

If ever it had beene in my pouer, as it was allways in my desires, to have done the King any acceptable piece of service, I shoud never have beene so vaine as to have valued it at a hier rate, then the paying a part, and bot a part, of that duetie I owed to his Majestie. Yet let my endeavors be what they wold, they provd still unsuccesfull. Bot a greater misfortune then that hath befallen me. I have done the King disservice, for which I have deservd a severe censure ; and certainlie

my crime is so much the greater, that I have offended so good and so gracieous a master ; yet, my lord, give me leave to say, that I never wickedlie, malicieouslie, or intentionallie wrongd his service. Some things were irregularlie done by these under my command ; bot because I did not know them all, I could not advert to them all. Bot some things were done by myselfe, which I do not offer now to justifie, bot shall acknowledg that his Majestie might have proceeded with much rigour against me, and yet not have exceeded the bounds and limits of justice. Bot he hath beene gracieouslie pleasd to incline rather to clemencie than severitie.

My lord, I am not indeed now so able to serve the King in any miliarie imployment as formerlie I have beene. My bodie with yeares and toyle is become crafie, and my spirit with some sad crosses and afflictions is brought low ; bot in what condition soever I shall heer-after be, my loyaltie to the King shall accompany me to my grave, and it shall be my incessant prayer to heaven, that his Majestie may live long, to raigne with his accustomd goodnes glorieouslie and happilie over us.

My lord, some foure yeares since, his Majestie gave me a commission to be a Major of his guards of foot ; a yeare and a halfe agoe, and some more, I got a commission to be Lieutenant Colonell of these guards. In November last, the Earle of Kellie was appointed to be Lieutenant Colonell, and I againe Major ; for this last charge I had no commif-
sion, bot acted by vertue of the Kings letter to the Councell. The tuo commissions are heere ; which, as I refлавed with much joy and gladnes, as testimonies of his Majesties undeserved favour touards me, so I doe now most willinglie and cheerfullie, without any reluctancie,

yet with all imaginable submision and humilitie, returne them backe.

So ended my Speech.

My Lord Chancellour haveing given me a signe to remove, nothing els was said to me then ; perhaps the lords thought there was enough said at one time. I was therafter orderd to give in my accounts to the Cleark Register, Hatton and Nithrie, or any tuo of them ; and the 8th day of Aprile (which was nixt Councell day,) was indulged to me to make them readie. I went to Glasgow, and at my returne a day or tuo ere the Councell met, I deliverd my accounts to my Lord Register and Nithrie. After they had perusd them in the Councellhouse, I was calld in and desird to signe them ; which I did, and attested them to be true according to my best memorie and judgment ; and so I was dismisst by them. When the Councell day came, I was inquired privatelie, whether I wold fweare that these accounts were just or not. This I peremptorilie refusd, for, haveing losd my memorials and papers, I might easilie erre in some particulars, and ane oathe shoulde be taken in judgment, truth and righteousnes. Upon this answere, my Lord Register resolves to give them in to the Councell as they were. They were publikelie red there by their clearke ; a copie wherof follows.

My Accounts given in to the Privie Councell the eighth day
of Aprile, 1668.

My Lords,

The accounts that are charged on me, and the severall parties of

horse and foot under my command, by the shyre of Niddisdaill and steuartrie of Kirkcubright, extended, as I reckoned, to nine and tuentie thousand and some odd hundredths of pounds Scots, thogh I know some will have them to amount to 33,000 lb. Scots ; yet in my anfuere to the abbreviation of the Report, they did not exceed eight and tuentie thousand pounds. Bot when I was desired by the honorable Committee of the Privie Councell, to declare ingenuoufie what I thought the soldiers cesse, and the fines I exacted in bonds and moneys might amount to, my anfuere was, that they never could exceed threttie thousand pounds ; and therfor I shall be contented the soume shall be calld so, thogh I am very sure it will never be provd to be so.

I am now to divide that soume in cesse, in bonds, and moneys. As to the cesse, it wold be confiderd, that the second time I was in Galloway, anno 1665, (for the first time I meddled with neither cesse nor fine) I stayd tuo months ; and the third time, which was anno 1666, I stayd full eight months, which makes in all ten months. It is impossible for me to give a precise account of what my soldiers reffaved in cesse, which is, (as they call it there) 8d. *per diem*, and in meate and drinke, (which they call free quarter) 4d. *per diem* ; in all tuelve pence *per diem* for everie foot sojour, and halfe a croune a day for each horsman. Bot I shall offer to your lordships confideration, that it can not be justlie or rationallie thought that the foot sojors exhausted lesse then three pounds sterline everie day, that is to say, alloueance for threescore men, which was bot halfe my partie of foot ; for thogh sometimes I had none at all on cesse, which was bot set doune, sometimes not above the third part, yet ordinarilie, I had the most of my partie quarterd on deficients, and sometimes all of them ; as it happend,

when I was surpris'd at Drumfreis; so that, *communibus diebus*, I may most justlie reckon the cesse of the foot soldiers to be three pound sterline a day; *Inde*, for ten months, upwards of nine hundredth pounds sterline moneys; and it is undenyable, bot the cesses of the severall parties of the horse which I employed, extended to much more then one hundredth pounds sterline. Let then the cesse, which the soldiers of horse and foot got, wherof I might not defraud them, (haveing had pouer onlie to qualifie the fines,) be reckond to one thousand pounds sterline, which I shall easilie prove to be farre below that, which they got in money, meate and drinke.

The bonds which I deliverd to Mr Alexander Keith, and some inconsiderable ones, which were taine from me when I was made priso-
ner, I reckon to amount to thretteene thoufand mearks.

It will then inevitablie follow, that I have reffaved of fines, no more in money then fourteene thousand mearks; and I doe averre, that more then that, if so much, was never reffavd by me, nor any in my name, and the contrare of what I now affirme shall never be proved. What is becomd then of all these monstrous soumes reffavd by me, or those under me, which have made so great a noyse?

I shall now offer to your lordships confideration, what became of these fourteene thousand mearks, and how they were disposed of by me.

1°. First, at my returne from Galloway in the yeare 1665, I deliverd a paper to the then Lord Commiffioner, which he communicated to the tuo Lords Archbishops, wherin I shew them what great expence I had beene at in three years before, for many incident charges in the Kings service, as also for my tuo journeys to Galloway, 1663, and

1665. Upon which I was orderd to deliver all the bonds I had taken to Mr Alexander Keith; and haveing reffaved no command to deliver up the money which was then in my hand, I did conceave, and doe so still, that upon the account of my formentiōd charges, that monney was allowd me; and confirmed I was in that opinion, because since that time, it was never sought from me, the soume not exceeding one hundreth and fiftie pounds sterline, for all these charges. A precedent of this was given by the Privie Councell in the yeare 1663, when they orderd one hundreth and tuentie pounds sterline to be given to E. Linlithgow, for the expence of his journey to Kirkcubright.

2°. In these forementiōd yeares of 1665 and 1666, some ministers, on the account of some extraordinarie charges which they were at for the same busines wherin I was employed, receaved from me fortie pounds sterline.

3°. Thogh Robert Glover, (who is so oft mentiond in the long Report, and the abbreviation therof,) was not guiltie of so many enormities as he is charged with, yet I may, of these fourteene thousand mearks, safelie charge fixe hundreth mearks, if not more, upon him.

4°. The severall officers of these parties under my command, at fevērall times, for their extraordinare charges, (such things being ordinarlie practisid in all warrs,) reffaved from me one hundreth and ten pounds sterline, and upwards.

5°. Lastlie, when I was surprisid at Drumfreis, the rebels tooke from me, of readie money in the chamber where I lay, and the chamber above it where my clothes were, (which were all likewise lost,) about fixe thousand and fixe or seven hundreth mearks Scots.

My lords, you see that in this account, I have not at all mentiond

my particular losses, either of horses, armes, furniture, cloaths, linnens, or my servants goods, all which for one of my meane qualitie, were not inconsiderable ; bot refers the confideration of all these losses, and all the premisses, to your lordships pleasure and determination.

End of my Accounts.

These accounts being red before the Councell, a great Committee is appointed to cognosce of them, to examine myselfe in any difficultie might arise, and report their fence to the Councell against the sixth of May.. The Committee consisted allmost of these members which compoſd the former one, except that (if I remember right,) E. Linlithgow, and my Lord Renton were added. The firſt professing kindnes to me, and the ſecond being my reall friend, made me flatter myſelfe with a fancy, that much feveritie was not intended againſt me ; neither did my hopes abuse me ; for, being caſt to the Committee a day or two before the Councell met, I was uſd with all imaginable civilitie. E. Tueeddaill being againe President, deſird me to name the ministers to whom I had given the money mentiond in my accounts, which I did very readilie. Then I was deſird to name the officers who had got a ſhare of that money, for which I was accountable. I prepaſed to doe it instantlie, and had namd one of the officers to the cleark ; bot E. Tueeddaill perceaveing I was unwilling to particulariſe the perſones, after he had ſpoke with tuo or three of the Committee with a low voyce, told me, the Committee haueing found ſo much ingenuitie in me formerlie, that they wold take my word for this, and diſpence with me in that particular ; and ſo diſmifd me. The Report to the Councell was

favorable, and no doubt I had strong obligations both to E. Tueeddaill, and Sir Robert Murrey, for their kindnes in the Report ; for thogh my accounts were true and just enough, yet if these tuo persons and the rest of the Committee had not beene favorable to me, what I gave either to ministers or officers, or the hundreth and fiftie pound sterline I had taken to myselfe without precept, had not beene alloued me. On the sixth day of May, the Committee made their report to the Coun-
cell, and both my charge and discharge were alloued by their lordships, without a contrare vote, except my Lord Cochran, whom the King hath since made Earle of Dundonnald. Ane act of councell was past for my exoneration, a copie wherof follows.

Act of Councell for my exoneration, at Edinburgh the
6th of May, 1668.

“ Forasmuch as the Kings Majesty haveing by his letter directed to the Lords of his Councill upon the third of March laft, ordered them to call Sir James Turner to ane account for moneys and bonds levied and taken by him for churchi fines, and in order thereto, they haveing appointed a committee of their oun number to confider of the faid Sir James his accounts, who, in obedience to the faid order, haveing called and conveened the faid Sir James before them, and he haveing exhibit and given in a paper, bearing a charge and discharge of the bonds and moneys reffaved and levied be him ; and the said Committee haveing diligentlie perused and confidered the faid paper of ac-
counts, did make the report followeing : Firft, as to the charge, that their humble opinion was, that seeing they conceaved there wold be

difficultie to prove legallie the charge of threttie eight thousand pounds Scots or therby, given in against him by the countrey, that the charge of threttie thousand pounds Scots confessed be him, (wherin they thinke him very ingenuous,) be admitted without further inquirie. And as to the first article of the discharge, craveing the alloueance of one thousand pound sterline taken for quartering, that their opinion was that the same shoulde be alloued, seeing it hath been the former custome to grant alloueance of quartering upon such occasions. As to the second article, anent the bonds taken be him, and deliverd to Mr Alexander Keith, which amount to eight thousand one hundred and fiftie one pound Scots, that Sir James shoulde be exonerd of the same. As to the article of one hundred and fiftie pound sterline, which he defires may be alloued upon the account of his charges for the severall times he went to Galloway; they thinke the same shoulde be alloued to him upon that reasoun, and upon the consideration of the losses he sustainted, by plundering of his horses, cloaths, etc. when he was taken prisoner. As to that article of fortie pound sterline given to some ministers, Sir James haveing made a particular condescendence who did reslave the famine; they thinke the same ought to be alloued to him. That the article of sixe hundred mearks reslaved be Robert Glover be alloued, and some course be taken with him therfore. That the hundred and ten pounds sterline given by him to officers under his command, for their extraordinarie charges be also alloued. And as to the last article of sixe thousand sixe hundred mearks, which Sir James alledgedeth he lost when he was taken prisoner; the Committee noways doubting Sir James his ingenuitie, offerd it as their opinion, that the same shoulde be alloued him. The Lords of his Majesties Privie Counsell haveing at length

heard and considerd the forsaid account of charge and discharge given in by the said Sir James Turner, together with the said Report of the Committee therupon, doe approve of the said Report, and exoner and discharges the said Sir James of his intromission with the soumes and bonds above specified, conforme to the tennor of the forsaid Report.

Extractum per me,

Sic subscribitur,

Pet. Wedderburne.

So ended the Act of Councell.

Haveing now at length comd to ane end of this tedious and troublefome busienes, wherin, in steade of some gratuitie from his Majestie, of which I was made to have great hopes, my livelihood was taken from me, not without some reflection on my reputation ; and trulie things being represented so of me to the King, his Majestie might have usd me worse, better he could not ; being; I say, at ane end of it, I tooke my leave of the Lords, thankfullie acknouledging the favours I ressaued from some of them ; and returning to Glasgow, I found my wife very sicke of a feaver, and in a strong apprehension of death ; bot it pleased God she recoverd, to be a comfort to me after these sad tryalls.

Since then I have livd private, and though I profess myselfe no stoicke, nor have I indeed that apathie or insensibilitie of the stroakes of fortune and afflictions wherof they foolishlie boast, yet I may without vanitie say, that the Kings displeasure with me being set aside, I have beene bot litle movd with these changes of fortune that hath befallen me ; nor have they brangled my resolutions from looking on

prosperitie and aduersitie with ane equall eye, nor shall hinder me, so farre as God shall enable me with grace, to keepe a good conscience before God, ane unspotted loyaltie to my Prince, and faire and honnest dealeing with all men, at least in as hie a degree as man in the state of imperfection can reach to.

I am writeing this in the month of Februare, of the yeare of our Lord one thousand sixe hundredre three score and ten, and entring in the sixe and fiftieth yeare of my oun age, being in indifferent good health ; my bodie, confidering the fatigwe of my life, not very crafie ; the intellectualls which God hath bestowed upon me, sound enough ; and my memorie so good, that though I never used to keepe notes in writing, and that I have written within these four last monthes, the Introduction to my Discourses, and the Introduction to this long Narration with the Narration it selfe, in which are comprehended the most remarkable passages of my life ; yet all and everie one of them represented themselvs as freshlie to my remembrance as if they had beene bot the occurrences of yesterday. To God onlie wife, be glorie for ever. Amen.

END OF THE WHOLE NARRATION.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX, No. I.

BISHOP GUTHRY'S OBSERVATIONS OF THE LATE REBELLION OBSERVED.

AFTER haveing long sought for a manuscript of our late troubles, I have got a fight of it, and it beares this title : "Observations upon the rise and progreffe of the late rebellion against King Charles the First, in so farre as it was carried on by a malecontented faction in Scotland, under pretext of reformation ; by Mr Henry Guttrie, Bishop of Dunkeld." I have observd, in these Observations, some passages maliciouſlie and falſlie written against James Duke of Hamilton, and others which I know to be meere lyes ; bot these laſt, not directlie relateing to the Duke, I ſhall onlie touch *en paſſant*, that the reader may know the Bishop to have beene a man not to be trusted in what he writes, bot when the truth was knoune by more faithfull authors.

Page 17, [Pr. Mem. p. 40.] The Bishop, ſpeakeing of Duke James, then Lord Commiſſioner, writes :

"Upon the morrow, theſe lords and minifters returnd to his Grace,"

(now these lords and ministers were Covenanters,) " and found him " more plausible in treateing with them, even publickle before Rox- " burgh, Southeske, the Treasurer Depute, the Justice Clerk and other " Councillors that were present. Bot that which was most talkd of, " was that which at parting he told them in private ; for haveing de- " fired these Lords of the Councell to stay still in the chamber till his " returne, himselfe convoyed them" (to wit, the Covenanters) " thorough " the roomes, and stepping into a gallerie, he drew them in to a corner, " and there exprefd himselfe as follows : My lords and gentlemen, I " spoke to you before these Lords of the Councell as the Kings Com- " missioner ; now there being none present bot yourselves, I wold speake " one thing to you as a kindlie Scotsman : if you goe on with courage " and resolution, you will carry what you please ; bot if you faint and " give ground in the leaft, you are undone ; a words enough to wise " men." The Bishop proceeds thus : " This haveing beene spoke in pri- " vate, I sould not have mentiond it, if it had not comd to be publick ; " and reports anent it were so different, that some made it better, others " worse then it was. Bot that same very day, Mr Andro Cant told it " to Mr Guild, as also to Master Dalgleis minister of Cooper, to Mr " Robert Knox minister of Kelso, and to Mr Henry Guttrie minister " of Stirline."

Ansuere.

The Bishop, after so foule an aspersion, sould have endeavord to prove his accusation by some more habile witnessses then Mr Andro Cant, yea or any of the Covenanters, not excepting the best of them ; for all of them were then partie, all of them knew bot too well that many publick affaires are carryed on by lyes, and the busines ordinarlie

done before the people be undeceived ; and therfor I doubt not bot they wold studie by all meanes, laufull and unlaufull, to carry thorough their begun rebellion ; and what more plaufible way to encourage their ounе partie, and get proselites to their cause, then to perſuade not onlie the populace, bot even men of note, parts and understanding, that his Majeſties Commiſſioner was only for the King in an outward and diſſem-bled ſhow, bot in his heart was entirēlie for the Covenanterſ and their cause ? Bot the Bishop himſelfe makes Mr Andro Cant the reporter of this tale, and conſequēntlie father of the ly ; and indeed he could not have told it to three fitter trumpeters, wherof this Bishop was himſelfe one. Bot let this manuſcript be examind, it will be found the Bishop accuſes the fame Mr Cant, in another caſe, to have made a concaſenation of lyes in the pulpit to his audience in a ſermon, and blaſphemous lyes in his prayer to God Allmichtie. With what malice and impudence then can the Bishop make uſe of the fame Mr Cant as a habile witneſs againſt James, then Marques, ſince Duke of Hamiſton ?

This Mr Guild, (if it be he I meane,) was an honnest man at that time, and a royaliſt ; and therfor Cant hath purpoſeſlie told this ly to him, that Guild being once perſuaded to beleeve it, might alſo labour to bring other honnest and loyall men to a diſtruct of the Commiſſioner, that they might provide for their ounе ſafetie, by leaveing him and joyning with the Covenanterſ ; Cant and all his crue knouing well enough, that when one is boldlie calumniated, ſomthing will ſtice and adhere ; and auſſuredlie their deſigne at that time and long afterwards, was, to make honnest men jealous one of another, and particularlie of James then Marques of Hamiſton ; wherin they were bot too ſucceſſeſfull,

none contributeing more to it then the Bishop, the author of this manuscript.

Bot let us observe, what a poore and fillie kind of a man the Bishop makes the Marques to have beene. He convoyd the Covenanters out of the chamber where he was. Trulie I have knoune him keepe greater state when he was not the Kings Commissioner. Bot he leaves the Privie Councillors, and convoys the Covenanters thorough sev-
e-
rall roomes, and leads them to a corner in a gallerie, there to bluster out both treason and follie. James Duke of Hamilton had many and pouerfull enemies, who accusd him of treacherie ; bot this Bishop is the first, (for any thing I ever yet heard,) that accusd him of follie. Wold any bot a foole, or a mad man, have told out his treacherous thoughts to a number of men, of whom he neither had, or fought a promise of silence. Could he not have imparted these villanies onlie to one of the Covenanters, (suppose my Lord Lindsay, the Dukes brother in law,) that he might tell them to the rest of the conspirators ? Bot the Bishop will have the Duke to tell his treasonable cogitations to more then halfe a dozen of the violentest of all the Covenanters. The Dukes enemies never accusd him of follie, bot in the contrare of too much wit and policie ; nor did they ever accuse him to be open mouthd, bot, in the contrare, to be the most close and reserved perfon that ever followed a court. Bot this Bishops malice is so great, that he will have the Duke to have beene both a knave and a foole, none of which he was ever able to prove.

Bot how wickedlie and falslie the Bishop hath represented this storie, may appeare perfectlie by this, that he writes of the famous then Earle, since Marques of Montrose, as one who beleevd this ridi-

culous narration to be true. There is no doubt bot that noble person was so wrought on to be Duke James his enemie, and was indeed so to a hie degree; and if he could have put any stresse on this forgerie, it is to be thought assuredlie he wold not have omitted it, but wold certainlie have made it one of the chiefe articles of that accusation he and others gave against Duke James, in the yeare 1643, in Oxford; and being he did it not, assuredlie he lookd upon it as a fable invented by Master Cant, with some additional notes by Bishop Guttrie. You may reade these articles at Oxford, and Duke James his answers to them, in the Memoires of that Duke, and his brother Duke William, written by Doctor Burnet.

The Bishop, page 23. [Pr. Mem. p. 56.]

“ Notwithstanding my Lord Aboine desird my Lord Marques of “ Hamilton to joyne the land forces he had on the Kings ships with his, “ yet he did it not, bot lay still in the Firth, and did nothing at all.”

Anfuer.

The Marques might not, by his instructions, put all his land forces to the north. Aboine got more then what he desired; for beside officers and amunition, the Marques gave him money, and the two first were onlie fought; bot what use Aboine made of all, I had rather the Bishop shoud learne from others then me. Reade the Memoires,

The Bishop, in that same page.

“ The Lord Marques came out of his ships, by boate, to the linkes “ of Barnbougall at midnight, where my Lord Loudon met him and “ had tuo hours conference with him; after which he returnd to his “ ships, and the Lord Loudon to these who sent him.”

Ansuer.

These who gave in a charge against Duke James at Oxford, 1643, were not so punctuall, and therfor more prudent then the Bishop, who particularis a meeting in Barnbougall linkes with the Lord Loudoun, and stints the conference to tuo houres time ; wheras the charge names not the Lord Loudon at all, nor speakes not of one night, or tuo houres, bot says indefinitlie, the Marques keepd severall meetings in Barnbougall sands and places nixt adjacent, with some who were most desperate leaders and promoters of the Covenant ; for fraud and deceit lurkes in generalls. Bot since the Bishop is so particular, I thinke he was bound to have made good his assertion. If he could not produce habile witnessses, yet he was obliged to have namd some spectators, or bystanders. Assuredlie neither the Marques nor the Lord Loudoun came alone ; and if the Bishop thought the Marques his attendants guiltie of their lords treacherie, and therfor not apt to reveale his secrets, yet he might have namd these who waited on Loudoun, who were no hoter Covenanters then the Bishop himselfe was at that time. And if my Lord Loudoun did tell the Bishop that he had met that night with the Marques of Hamilton, what will follow on that, bot that it was neither the first ly nor the last ly that lord had made, for promoting the holy covenant, and calumniating the Kings friends and servants, particularlie the Marques ; to make loyall persons jealous of him, as one who keepd night meetings with his masters enemies, and therfor not to be trusted, and consequentlie to fall off to the Covenanters. Duke James fullie ansuerd that charge at Oxford, as you may read in his Memoires.

The Bishop, page 46. [Pr. Mem. p. 117.]

“ The Marques being come home, (viz. anno, 1642,) he and Argile feasted daylie together, and spoke of a match betweene my Lord Lorne and Lady Anne Hamilton ; so that in steade of reclaiming Argile to the Kings side, Marques Hamilton went along in Argiles way.”

Ansuere.

Marques James neither came doun from Court, or was sent doun by the King, to declare warre against Argile, or any of the Covenanters, bot to straine all the finues of his wit to gaine all of them to his Majesties service, and especiallie to hinder them to joyne either forces or councells with the blacke Parliament of England, then in armes against the King. Could Marques James deale in this great affaire with Argile, (the then prime Covenanter,) and not speake with him ; and could he speake with Argile, and not feeme to use him kindlie ? How hath malice foold this Bishop, as not to make use of that reason God had bestoud on him ! Did not the Bishop know that marriages are oftner spoke of among great men then intended ; yea, often consummated, yet both the married couple and their parents sticking close and adhering to their former principles, both in matters of faith and state ? Reade the true storie of the tuo brothers deportment in the yeare 1642, in their Memoires written by Dr Burnet, which will cleare any unbyassd reader.

The Bishop, speakeing of Lieutenant Generall Leslies march to

Kintire, writes, page 92. [Pr. Mem. p. 243.]

“ From Inneraray on the 24th of August [May] they marchd to Kintire, “ where Alaster Macdonald was, whose strength was 1400 foot, and tuo troopes of horse. On the 25th Macdonald skirmishd with them

“ from morning till night ; bot the nixt day, himselfe and his Irishes,
“ (haveing boates in readienes) fled to the Iles, and from thence to Ire-
“ land. The countrey people, whom Macdonnald had constraind to joyne
“ with him, submited, on quarters given them by David Leslie ; bot
“ haveing renderd their armes, Marques Argile and a bloodie preacher,
“ Mr John Nevoy, prevaild with him to breake to them ; and so the
“ armie was let loose upon them, and killd them all without mercie.
“ Wheranent it seemd David Leslie had some inward checke, for whill
“ the Marques and he and that Mr Nevoy were walking together
“ over the ancles in blood, he turnd about and said, Now Mr Johnie, have
“ you not once got your fill of blood ?”

Answere.

I have not taken notice of severall falshoods, wherby the Bishop
blemishes and stains the actions of the noble Marques of Montroffe,
even when he intends to cry them up. I might have let this passe
also, as being eccentric to my observations, which I intended onlie
concerning James Duke of Hamilton ; yet, to shew how the Bishop
imposes lyes and contrivd fables on his readers, and does not at all
make truth the square of his writeings, I shall speake a litle to this
last paragraph, as knowing the storie as well as any man breathing.
First, Macdonnald had good enough intelligence of Leslies march into
Kintire ; and therfor, if he had beene a soldier, and not excessivelie
besotted with brandie and aquavitæ, he should have posseſd the passes
on this fide of Kintire, where one hundred well armd and resolute foot
might have done David Leslie mischiefe enough, and gone faire to
have repelld his forces, especiallie his horse. Nixt, that Macdonnald
skirmishd from morning till night is so false, that I beleieve that ro-

mance had its existence onlie in the Bishops oune braine, and no where els. After Leslie had gaind the passes without reluctancie, very unadvisedlie rode with the horse severall miles before his foot, and there found Alaster on his march, bot out of time, (like mustard after dinner,) to the passes, particularlie to a house called Tarbot. Leslie made a halt, and offerd skirmish ; tuo of Macdonnalds men were taken, and immediatlie without more adoe he retird ; and now it was farre afternoone, Leslie thinking Alaster had retird to some strength, returnd backe to his foot. Was this to skirmish a whole day, where Leslie had neither man nor horse killd, shot or wounded ? Nixt day, Leslie pursued, bot found Macdonald was fled to Ila, bot had left 300 men, and stout men they were, at Dunnevertie ; which he did like a foole, neither that house nor Dunneveg in Ila haveing any water, which occasioned the losse of both places. A fearfull ly it was in the Bishop, to write that these Alaster had left behind him had quarter promisid, and given them by David Leslie. A most false calumnie. The truth was this. The 300 men in Dunnevertie had faire conditions offerd them for their persons and baggage, if they wold give over the house ; this they stislie refusid to doe, expecting releefe which Alaster had falfly promisid. At length their lour trench being stormd and taken, and fortie of their men killd in it, want of water made them beg conditions which before they had refused ; bot none were granted them, bot to come out on discretion, which they did, and so were put to the suord. Heere nothing was done against the laws and custome of warre, much lesse against faith or parole ; for neither life nor quarter was ever promisid them. Yet I shall not deny bot heere was crueltie enough ; for to kill men in cold blood, when they have submitted to mercie, hath

no generositie at all in it. It is true, David Leslie hath confess'd it afterwards to severalls, and to myselfe in particular oftner then once, that he had spard them all, if that Nevoy, put on by Argile, had not, both by preachings and imprecations insteade of prayers, led him to commit that butcherie. Houever, he broke neither word nor articles, as this Bishop falslie alleages. And is it not a prettie storie of the Bishop to say, that the Marques of Argile, David Leslie, and Nevoy waded over the ancles in blood? Certainlie they have beene horriblie delighted in blood, that wold walke in blood, where they might have walkd dryshod. Could the blood of 300 men, in a hote summer day, make such a poole of blood as to come over mens ancles? Bot this is so farre from truth, that David Leslie never saw these 300 men either dead or alive, or ever came neere them, say the Bishop what he will.

I cannot deny, bot there was some inhumanitie used in this action; bot if we will consider what a graceles and disobedient crue of despedados these were who sufferd, we must acknouledge they got no more bot what they justlie deservd. For, first, no request, no intreatie nor command of Marques Montrosse, could prevaile with Alaster, or with his Irish and Kintire men, to stay with him after Kilsith battell; bot to Kintire they wold goe, and to Kintire they did goe, and to that disobedience of theirs, and my Lord Aboyns leaveing him with his northerne horse, might Montrosse impute his losse at Philiphauch. Nixt yeare after that, the late King sent his commands to Montrosse to lay doune armes, which he did; the like orders did his Majestie send to Alaster and his Kintire men, by Sir James Leslie, which that mad man and his cracke braind companie obstinatlie and rebelliouslie refusd to obey. Beside, they had shed much innocent blood, which might well

have beene spared ; for tho Argile and many others were guiltie of capitall crimes, yet most of their vassalls and tennants were innocent ; and of them it might be said, what have these poore sheepe done ? Now, these unhappy men who would neither obey their oun Generall, nor their Soveraigne Prince, for whom they pretended to fight, bot wold needs stand on their oun legs, and who disdainfullie refusd faire conditions when they were reduced to extremities, what quarters could they rationallie expect from their profesd and dounright enemies, the Covenanters ? Yet, perhaps, their weldeserved punishment was inflicted on them by the wrong hand.

The Bishop, speakeing of Duke James his election to be Generall,
1648, page 100. [Pr. Mem. p. 267.]

“ There came onlie tuo to be talkd of, in reference to the hiest place
“ of command. The one was Duke Hamilton, whose friends contend-
“ ed, it sould be setled on him. The other was the Earle of Calander,
“ very many being for it, that he sould be the man, etc.”

Ansuere.

I beleeve, when the Bishop wrote this, he knew he was writeing a ly ; for he could not bot know, that the Duke and his friends were fo farre from contending for that hie charge, that it was imposd on him against his will, by parliament ; and if he had not accepted, he had beene sent to the Castle of Edinburgh, if he had not met with harder measur ; nor did ever the Earle of Calander, or any for him, desire a hier charge then to be Lieutenant Generall under the Duke. See the Dukes Memoires.

The Bishop, speakeing of the fight at Machlin, page 104.

[Pr. Mem. p. 278.]

“ The fight lasted not long, Middlestone in an instant putting them all to flight ; eightie of them being kild in the place, the rest taken prisoners, except a few that escaped by flight.”

Ansuere.

As short as this relation is, it has many grosse lies in the bellie of it. Middleton did not rout these rebels in an instant ; they disputed the matter long, wounded both him and Colonell Hurrie with fuords on the head, which shew they did not presentlie fly ; and if E. Calander had not comd up with 8 troopes of horse, Colonell Turners regiment of foot following fast, the busines had beene worse with Middleton. There were not ten of them killd, and not above sixtie prisoners. Now when the fight began, they were no fewer than tuo thousand ; how could then the Bishop impudentlie say, that all were killd and taken except a few that escapd by flight ; for most of all, on Calanders appaereing, got away in a full bodie ?

The Bishop, page 105. [Pr. Mem. p. 279.]

“ Generall Major George Monro had arrivd by this time from Ire-
land, with tuo thousand foot, and one thousand horse, and marchd
“ straight after the armie to England.”

Ansuere.

In the unhappy transactions and Engagment in the yeare 1648, all along the Bishop makes the Duke to drive on hidden designes ; and when the too earlie riseings in England, and Sir Marmaduke Langdales too sudden levies, forced the Duke allmost unprepared to march,

the Bishop maliciouslie conceales the true reasons of the Dukes march, as also how he was forced to march with halfe regiments, ill armd and worse disciplind, in the rainiest summer ever Europe saw ; and withall, to make the Duke more odious, he multiplyes his forces, as heere he doth Sir George Monros ; for he landed not in Scotland with above fifteene hundred foot, and four hundred horse.

The Bishop, page 106. [Pr. Mem. p. 283.]

“ The Scots armie made Preston their hoff quarter, bot withall quarr-
“ terd so wide, that betweene the van and reare of their armie, there
“ was neare eight and threttie miles, and withall sufferd not George
“ Monro and his forces to come up, bot keepd him allwise behind, to
“ bring up the foots canon, which were in number five.”

Answere.

Malicious Bishop ! who, before the armie was raifd, makes the Duke underhand play the same game which Argile and the kirk was playing above boord ; and after he was Generall, the Bishop makes him act like a man who designd to get his armie destroyd, his master ruind, and himselfe murtherd. Bishop, I wold not have beleevd one word of this last paragraph, tho I had heard you preach it in a pulpit. Preston was never the hof quarter, nor did ever any of Duke James his armie quarter in it. The Duke wold gladlie have had Sir George Monro and his forces come up to his armie, because his men were traind and experiencd ; bot in this, as severall other things, he unhappy sufferd himselfe to be overruled, nor did Sir George desire to joyne. The Dukes Memoires will informe you. It was agreed on, that Sir George shoulde still be in the reare, not for bringing canon, for we

never saw any, bot for bringing fiske and straglers. It was also agreed on that Sir Marmaduke Langdale shoulde constantlie have the van, for provideing guides, bot mostlie for intelligence, the want wherof hastend our ruine ; for Sir Marmaduke and some of the Dukes armie were routed, before we knew it was Cromwell that had done the feate. The day before Cromwell appeard, Calander and Middleton had presd the Duke to suffer them to goe with most of the cavallerie, eight miles from the head quarters to Wiggam ; bot notwithstanding that unhappy march, there was not sixteene miles from the van to the reare of all our forces, which this Bishop with his multiplying glasse makes up to eight and threttie.

The Bishop, in that same page. [Pr. Mem. p. 284.]

“ Sir Marmaduke Langdale, in his skirmish, sent to the Duke and “ Earle Calander for ammunition, which was refusd him. The nixt “ day, Generall Major Baillie renderd himselfe and ten thousand foot “ prisoners ; the rest of them stragled northwards towards Monro. The “ Duke and Calander, and the rest of the generall officers, (except “ Middleton, who made the best appearance of any, and was taken on “ the place,) with three thousand horse, fled together in a body. Short- “ lie after, the Duke, with all the other generall persons, and all the “ bodie of horse, were taken prisoners, except Earle Calander, who in “ a disguise escapt to Holland.”

Anfuer.

In a few lines the Bishop hath couchd a good many malicious lies. Firft, Sir Marmaduke got more ammunition then could at that time be well spard, and more then he desird ; and numbers of men were like-

wife sent to him ; and, by his misintelligence, takeing Cromwell to be one Ashton, a presbyterian gentleman in Lancashire, he was instrumentall in his oun and the Dukes ruine. Nixt, Lieutenant Generall Baillie had not fifteene hundredth foot with him, when, at Warinton bridge, finding they could make no resistance, [he] renderd himselfe and them prisoners of warre. Thirdlie, Middleton made no greater appearance then the Duke himselfe did, nor was Middleton taken on the place ; but tuo days after our first renconter, he was taken in Staffordshire by tuo countrey troopes, his horse stumbling under him. Fourthlie, after our march from Ribble bridge, the Duke never faw eight hundredth of his horse in a bodie, which the Bishop, according to his custome, makes three thousand. And here the Bishop, with his accustomd malice, conceales that Calander left the Duke at Utuxeter, and tooke the halfe of the horse with him, leaving the rest so disheartend and discouragd, that they even put a neceffitie on the Duke to treate for himselfe and them. And heere the Bishop, out of spite to the Duke, conceales this treatie, and therby feemes to justifie the blacke Parliaments murther of the Duke, being he mentions no previous treatie, wherin the Duke and all with him got faire quarters, and articles signd. Is not all this done like a reverend and devout father of the church ?

The Bishop, page 108. [Pr. Mem. p. 288.]

“ Sir George Monro comeing neare the border of Scotland, acknowledgd Lainrick for his Generall. Thither came also Sir Thomas Tilflie with a thousand English horse, and offerd his service ; bot was refusd by Lainrick, saying, it wold be a meane to draw Cromwell into Scotland.”

Ansuere.

The Bishop hath pursuied Duke James till he left him imprisond with the bloodie sectaries, where he needed expect no good usage ; and then the Bishop returns to Scotland, to persecute his brother Lainrick. Could any man have imagind, a Bishop could have shaken a thousand English horse so soone out of his sleeve ; I never heard of these thousand horse before, and I beleeve never shall heerafter. I knew Sir Thomas Tilflie very well ; a Roman Catholic he was, bot a very loyall person. I doe not remember ever I saw him with Duke James. I have heard he was to be Major Generall of Sir Marmaduke Langdales foot ; and so had no horse with him, bot these belongd to his oun person and his servants. Very wellcome he wold have beene with a thousand horse before our defeate, bot how he got a thousand horse together so soone after we were beaten, and marchd so speedilie with them to the Scots border, is beyond all wonder ; onlie I fancy the Bishop levied and transpored them there, purposelie that Earle Lainrick should refuse their helpe, and so should pertake of his brother Duke James his treacherie.

What the Bishop writes of his generall asssemblies, and their committees and commissions, may perhaps be true ; for he was for most part a constant member of them. Bot assurredlie when he wrote this paper, he might have spent his time better to have written a homelie. And now, good Bishop, I am so perfectlie wearie of this most malicious and lying pamphlet of yours, that I am readie to sueare never to reade any of your sermons after it.

APPENDIX, No. II.

LETTERS TO SIR JAMES TURNER.

1. FROM WILLIAM DUKE OF HAMILTON.

Hamilton, 22 No^r, 1672.

SIR,

I KNOW so well by experience what a trouble the paine of the sciatike is, that I am very sorry you should have it, and that it has at this time hindered me of your company ; but if your health or busines can allow you to come here againe Chrissenmas, againe which time I intend to return from Ed^r, yow shall be most heartely welcome ; and if you will be pleased to send me a copie of these memoires yow have of the busines, I shall take it for a very great [favour] ; and the peruseing of it before I see you, will enable me the more at meeting to talk with yow of that affair, and to let you know my designe in it ; knoueing how much both my famely and my self is obliged to your good opinione of us ; which, when it is in my pouer other wayes to express my fence of, you shall find me very really, Sir, your most affec^t friend and servant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

2. FROM DR GILBERT BURNET.

Glas: 1 May [1673?] 10 acloke.

HONO^{LL} SIR,

THE enclosed you sent me for her [Grace] is, as every thing I ever saw [from your] pen, truely worthy of you. [Give me] leave to adde, that it was an overstretch of modefty that you referre the reading it, and judging how fitt it were to be sent to me, who will never presume to judge of any thing comes from you, being assfured before hand that it must be excellent good. I shall feal and fend your letter quickly, for a bearer is now in toune. I encline to follow your advice in the particular you mention, and cannot easily exprefse how ftrong my Inclinations are on all occasion to approve my felfe, Hono^{ll} Sir, your most oblidged and faithfull servant,

GILBERT BURNETT.

I fend you a book I lately had, supposed to be the D. of Buckinghams; but I have [reason] to apprehend it Cap. Titus his work. One sheet hath been left out in the binding of it.

For the Hono^{ll} Sir James Turner, at Gorbells.

3. FROM DR BURNETT.

Hamilton, 18 Aug. [1673.]

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

My disappointment of many papers I was put in hope of, hath kept me all this while from performing the journey I designed when I

waited on you. I am now neerer a readines then formerly ; but, because the enclosed paper differs in some things from the accounts I had from you, I send it to you, to see if it can so refresh your memory, that all may be fully adjousted. This paper is of Liv^t Gen. Drumonds penning, as it is like you will know by the hand. The most considerable variation from your account is, that here you will find advertisements sent by Monro to the Generall of Cromwells forces at Skipton. He said, they knew not if these they sent came to the army, for they never returned to them ; but he is sure they sent many another thing. He tells of eight regiments of horse they found lying behind your army. It is true, he added, they were but of but 150 horse or 200 at most a peece.

I hope when you have perused this paper you will return it with such reflections as shall occurre, particularlie for clearing those things I have touched. I know your generous friendship for the memory of him you honour so much, will make you easy to me for putting you to so much trouble ; therefore, without any further apology, I break off, tho I shall never break off from being, Noble Sir, your most humble and most faithfull servant,

GILBERT BURNETT.

For the Right Worshipfull Sir James Turner, at Glasgow.

4. FROM R. HAMILTON OF DICKMONT.

Kenill, the [1673.]

HONORED S^r,

I DID not meit w^t my lord duck till he com east. I shew him your letter ; he fayes qn he comes west, which wilbe at furthest the nixt

week, he sd he resolued to haue yow at hamilton ; he says y^t S^r. will; lockart was spok to qn he was heir, bot his tym in this cuntrie was short ; he sd lykways y^t he wold caus the professor to wait on yow, in order to thos amendements, and to conffer w^t yow wpon y^t expedition.

I most intreat yow to giue my lord a uisit at hamilton, for I assure yow both his gr. and the dutches uisses yow weall, and ar much your friend, and will tak your weissit weri kyndlie. I told the generall y^t I had bein w^t yow, and of your ciwilitie and kynd remembrance of all your old acquaintance, and particularlie to himself. Houstoune hes his ferwice remembrit to yow ; he says he hes toyld himself much to find out your age, and hes read not a few books and ancient records ; bot at last he hes fund it out, y^t in quein marie of jngland her tym, ther was one Serjeant major turnor, a glant man, serwed hir in the warrs, which directlie he finds was yow by severall obserwations. S^r, I wisse yow guid health ; I pray yow remember my ferwice to your ladie ; I haue nothing else to troubell yow w^t, bot y^t I am, Honored S^r, your most humbill ferwant,

R. HAMILTON.

For his honord freind, Sir James Turner, at Glasgow, Thes.

5. FROM DR BURNET.

Hamil. 22 Aug. 1673.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

I SHALL not enter on a particular confideration of your laft, but shall only tell you, you give in it such demonstrations of your noble friendship for the two Dukes, that you have to a very high degree

obliged both Duke and Duchesse ; who comand me to return their very hearty thanks to you, and are resolved on every occasion to make appear what a sence they have of their obligations to you. I now send you all I have written, both of the Ingament and the busines of Strivelin, and will expect your opinion of it. Yesterday Dachmont was with me, and told me diverse particulars were new to me ; the most considerable of them you will find added by my hand, but one thing I demurre on till I hear your sence of it. He tells me, that being sent by S^r George Monroe to the Duke, on the Fryday before Preston, the Duke read to Douchel and him a letter he had from Langdale, telling how the enemy had rendevoused at Oatly and Oatley-park, wher Cromwell was. This seems to vary from your account ; so I hope, when you have read the papers my man will give you, that you will favour with a return; Sir, your most humble faithfull seruant,

GIL. BURNETT.

For the Right Worshipfull Sir James Turner, at Glasgow.

6. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

28 August, 1673.

SIR,

ON monday Mr Burnet went from this on his way to London. If I do not follow him within a fortnight, I resolve to keep my resolution in seeing yow about the end of the hervest ; and if you have not advertisement before I come, I shall dispence w^t your fare, if I have the good fortune to find yourself. I shall communicate yours to Mr Burnet before that book come abroad, for I thinke what yow say is

very rationall. If I go to London, and can do yow any service there, yow may be assured of it from, Sir, your oblidged friend and servant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner, at Glasgow.

7. FROM DR BURNET.

Hamilton, 22 Nov^r, (1673.)

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

I AM sorry I came so soon out of Glasgow, since I thereby missed ane occasion of answering yours, and brought on you the trouble of sending your servant so farre. The Duke of Hamilton goes in on Monday or Twpesday, and sent for me, but I shall wait on you, please God, on Tuesday or Wednesday, and then we shall talk more fully.

Mean while, I shall tell you, I had not advised you to so humble a Confession as you made the Com^r; since your greatest crime was too implicit obedience to a Com^r, which certainly, in his account, should passe for a very veniall sin. I wish you had pretended sooner to Vrreys place, tho I think it is not too late till his successor be declared; but I apprehend D. Laud. is so engaged, not only to Borthwick, but also to Mr Stewart, who was made liv^t with a promise of the first captains place, tho Mr Drumond of Lundie was preferred, that I suppose D. Laud. will take ane occasion at once to oblige Borthwick, and to perform his promise to Mr Stewart; yet your pretending will at least doe you this right, that whatever follow, you have again offered your service to the King. You can expect nothing from D. Ham. mediation

with D. Laud, they are in so ill termes. How the Chancellor stands with the Com^r I know not, but your application to the Parliament would be well considered, for I know not how the lords of Councell will like the Precedent, since vpon the matter it will found a complaining of their vnjustice. But I wish you were at Ed^r, if your health could allow of it, for ther' you could take better measures then any can at this distance. This is what occures. I shall only adde, that at London D. Laud expressed to me a willingnes to promote your brother, which makes me think he hath no ill impression of you; but how farre E. Tweeddale would now choake or promote your busines in Parl^t, I cannot say. And now D. Ham. and he are closly vnited at this tyme. I am no more than I was, for I told the King plainly I would not be a Bishop, nor any great thing, but I am vnalterably, Sir, your most humble faithfull seruant,

GILBERT BURNET.

Ther came no newes to this place since Tuesday. The Duchesse here is your most faithfull friend, and remembers her to you very kindly.

For the Right Worshifull
Sir James Turner, at the Gorbells.

8. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

S^r,

I AM forie your Indisposition hindered me from your good company this day w^t your ladys, who my wife was very glade to see; but your thoughts of looking after things beyond the sea troubles me extreamly, and I hope, even the time you propose before you do itt, some thing may fall out that may give you ground to change your resolution. I

shall not in this trouble you w^t my full thoughts of itt, hopeing to see yow befor your resolutions be more determined ; onely I shall say, that your employing the cheife minister, in desiring so small a favor from his Ma^{tie} to you as a pass, can certanely not be refuised or mistaken by any. Your observes ar most rationall ; but how to help what Mr Burnets precipitant haft to bring these memoires to the view of the world, is the great question ; for it is that has occasioned these great errors, and what ground he had to make so much haft, I could never understand, and I did what I could to prevent itt, that they might have been a litle better digested ; and on this very account he and I ar fallen in those tearms that wee do not correspond ; but at meeting wee shall talke of these matters at more length ; and not haveing any news worth your trouble, I onely ade the assurance of my being, S^r, your affec^t friend and servant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

9. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

22 Sep. [1675.]

SIR,

THE uncertanty of my sons goeing, by the delay of the ships making ready, and the necessity that is on me to be present at the next Councill day, makes me uncertane till my return here, wher and when I shall meet w^t L^t Generall Drumond. So soon as I can be positive in it, I shall lett you know. The B^p of Dumblane I expect to see heré this day. I confes I the primats change to him ; but a

litle time will discover many things, and shall that I am, Sir, your most affec^t friend,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

10. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

Hamilton, Nou^{ber} 13, 1675.

S^r,

I RECEIVED yours of yesterday, and give you my hearty thanks for the kindnes it expresses. My journey has been but resolu'd since I went last to Edin^b; nor does it proceed from any call from the King, but the general desire, and frequent pressure, of all friends at Court; w^{ch} having communicated to our well-wishers here, and finding their opinion to agree w^t the others judgment, I thought my self obliged to consent to so unanimous a motion. In the mean time, if I may be stedable to you in any thing at Court, assure your self my endeavors to serue you shall be suitable to the many civilities you have euidenc'd to S^r, your obliged friend and fervant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

11. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

Hamilton, 19 March, 77.

S^r,

I PRAY yow give your brother my thanks for letting me hear from him anent a minister to Borrowstones, and tell him his recomendation

will have great weight w^t me, and I shall inform my self anent that man he recomends; that I did not present my self to some vacancies I have in this shire, but left it the Archbishope, was because I am apprehensive, by the unruliens off that people, that whatever conform minister come amongst them, his encouragement will be but small; and I had no will to employ any, wher they might have so litle satisfaction. Att this junctur, it will be an ill time to recomend that relation off yours to be a Captane, for upon the takeing of 500 men off the recruits off my brothers regiment att sea, the King of France has broke ten companies off the regiment. Nixt winter will be more fitt, for then is the time he makes up any vacancies, and then you shall have all the affistance I can give yow. I am forie to hear yow haue been so ill off the Goutt. I intend to be shortly in Glasgow, at which time yow shall see your most affec^t friend and servant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

12. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

11 Aprill [1677.]

SIR,

THER is no haft in your speaking to the Arch-Bishope, and when yow gett his relation off that affair I spoke of to yow, then hear iff he inclines to do me right wherin his informations had injurred me; it was I that shuned liueing with him as formerly, which he wold willingly done, but till he do some what to right me wher he has done me wrong, I incline not to itt, and I fear so long as he has his de-

pendancie wher he has, ther is litle that way may be expected from him, or trusted to him, promis what he will ; but I know your dis-
cretion and friendship for me so much, that I leave itt to your ma-
nagement, and am very really, your affec^t friend and servant,

HAMILTON.

13. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

23 May, [1677.]

SIR,

AT my return from Anandale, I found yours of the 15 here ; my wife being to go to Glasgow this day will lett you know my thoughts as to the Chan. and the reason of the difference betuixt him and the Precedent, and what ar my conjectures of his sending up his son, and will impart to you all I know more, wherby you will find a litle time may produce severall revolutions. So honest men had need to be well and seriously advised ; and putting great confidence in you, I shall not doubt of your friendship and frie advise, which shall meet with all the returns of kindnes in the pouer of your affec^t friend and servant,

HAMILTON.

14. SIR JAMES TURNER'S " DISCOURSE WITH THE ARCHBISHOP
OF GLASGOW, THE 28 OF MAY 1677."

THERE is one fraser who is prisoner at Dumbarton, as being accessorie to a manslaughter committed by one of his sonnes ; I had tuo letters from him desiring me to advise w^t our Archbishop what might

be done for him, pretending innocence. I knew the Archbishop had kindnes for the man as being his old acquaintance, and therfor I layd hold on this occasion to goe to the castle last monday, where I found Orbiston and a sonne of Barns adviseing with him concerning the tryall of some witches ; there I found also our provost, and his bayliffs, tuo wherof runne out so foone as they saw me ; there was also Sir John Monkreiff, a coufine of the Marquesse of Athole ; I stayd till most of these were dispatched, and then enterd in a discourse w^t the Archbishop concerning Fraser ; from that I fell to speake of a wrong was done to a friend of mine, a minister, by the B. of the Iles (wherin I beleeve he was affisted by both our Archbishops), and askd him if he had no vacant places in his oun Diocesse for that poore minister. He told me, he thought for my sake he might accommode him in Anandaill ; bot that not being my errand, I askd him if there were no vacancies in Clidfdail ; he said, Differf was vacant, for one Hamilton, to whom it was offerd, wold not accept. I said, nor sould my friend come there w^t my consent. He told me he had presented one Gallan to Lessimahego. I askd if all these were fallen *Jure devoluto* in his hand ; he said yes, bot he had not made use of his power till he wrote my lord duke, and got his answere, that he might present whom he pleasd. I told him he had done in that very modestlie ; and so haveing made a faire way to my intended discourse, I said, I wishd there had been no mistakes between the duke and him about other matters ; he answerd, he wishd the fame. I prayd him to relate the matter to me, if he had the leisure : very willinglie, said he, and did it, to my best remembrance, in these or very neare the like tearms.

At London, said he, my lord duke was pleasd to give me a vistis ;

where falling on the subject of indulgd ministers, he desird me to be favourable to them, as to men who contributed much to the peace of the countrey. I ansuerd, that they might expect faire enough vsage from me, provided they did these things they were obligd to doe. My lord D. askd me what these things were: one, said I, is the keeping the 29 of May; he said, he thought that sould be done. Another thing, said I, must be done by them, or they can expect no favour from me, and that is, to ordane no young men or Expectants, which they too often practise, and that will perpetuate the schifme. The duke, said he, replyd, how can yow or any other get helped? This, said he, I thought was strange language; bot ansuered, that their were hopes, if men did their duetie, it might be got helpd by time. This vpon the matter, said he, was all pasd betueene vs on that heade. Not long after, said he, I had occasion to goe to D. Lauderdaleill concerning my dispatch to Scotland, haveing allreadie kisid the kings hand, without any resolution to tell him any thing had pasd betueene D. Hamilton and me. There were some companie with him; bot so soone as he saw me, he came with his accustomd addresse to me, and told me he had somthing to impart to me, and immediatlie tooke me to another roome, and told me there had beene a noble person with him, who had promisid he sould be a very great man, and the king a glorious prince, w^t many other promises, if he wold procure the Indulgence in Scotland to be enlarged. I askd who that person was: he ansuerd, my ladie Dutchesse of Hamilton; and that her G. had beene very earnest w^t him in the busienes. This vnexpected renounter, said the Archbischop, made me apprehend the Duke of Hamiltons designe reachd further then at first I was aware of, and therupon told D. Lauderdaleill

what had pasd betueene D. Hamilton and me. D. Lauderdaleill bid me looke well to it, for the busines concernd me and all these of my order. I told him, said he, I could do no more in it then relate it to him, haveing taken my leave of the king. Yes, said D. Lauderdaleill, it will be fit you acquaint the English Bishops with the matter before you goe to Scotland. Nixt day, said he, D. Lauderdaleill and I dind w^t the Archbifhop of Canterburie at Lambeth, where were prefent the Bishops of London, Worcester and Rochester. After dinner, D. Lauderdaleill told the English Bishops, that he thought I had somthing to say to them; on which I related to them what I have told yow; and D. Lauderdaleill told them what had pasd betueene the Dutchesse of Hamilton and him. The English Bishops were of opinion, D. Hamilton might readilie propound the matter to the king, and therfor it were fit to preuent him, bot told me, I might goe to Scotland; and so, said he, I went away. I was told therafter, said he, that the king spoke with D. Hamilton on the matter, and that the king told him, now I have it out of yo^r oun mouth, that you are for enlarging the Indulgence, and for the presbiterians to give ordination. The Duke, said he, wrote a letter to me, to which I gave an answere, containing all I have now related to you; for I wrote to him I had said nothing of his G. to either D. Lauderdaleill or the English Bishops, bot what I wold give vnder my hand. And heere the Archbifhop stod.

I askd him, If D. Lauderdaleill had not told him what my ladie Dutchesse of Hamilton said to him, wold he have told D. Lauderdaleill what D. Hamilton said to him; he protested he wold not, and could take God to witnes in it. Then I told him, that I was informed, D. Hamilton, in his Discourse with the king, had neither desird of his

Majestie an enlargment of the Indulgence, or libertie of ordination. Bot the king asking him what his opinion of the Indulgence was, he hielie magniefied that which was granted, as a thing that contributed much to the peace of the countrey where these Indulgd ministers preachd. And being askd by his Ma^{tie}, if he thought any greater Indulgence sould be granted, answered, He wold not take on him to tell his mind extemporarie ; bot that if his Ma^{tie} wold call for others and aske their advice, he sould be readie faithfullie to tell his opinion. To all this the Archbishop replyed, That he was informed, D. Hamilton denyd that he gave the king advice to permit ordination by presbiteris, bot did not deny that he had adviced him for a larger Indulgence. I replyd, That I beleevd the Duke denyd both the one and the other, bot I wold not meddle in it. Then I told the Archbishop, that his revealing to D. Lauderdaill what had pasd betueene D. Hamilton and him, provd no good office to the Duke, because on occasion therof, men had endeavord to posseſſe the king with thoughts that the Duke intended an alteration in church gouernment, which I beleeeved never enterd into his thoughts. He ansuered, he was blameles of that ; he had represented no more bot what had reallie pasd betueene them. I replyd, I was sorry it had fallen out so vnluckilie in his hand, for I had never heard D. Hamilton speake to the prejudice of either him or his order ; nay, I have heard him fay, he wold never liue vnder that presbyterian government which was in his younger years exercisid in Scotland. The Archbishop subjoyned, that he had neuer entertaind any other bot honorable thoughts of my lord Duke ; and so after ordinare complements, we parted.

15. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

SIR,

1 Jun. [1677.]

I AM sorry you have taken so much pains to so litle purpose, for I did apprehend it wold be as is fallen out. How ever, I thanke yow very heartely, and when it is in my pouer, your kindnes shall not be forgote. I discover more of the designe has been in that buffnes nor I knew befor, by the relation the Arch B. gives of itt; for my wife spake what he says my Ld Lauderdale told him att parting many weeks befor, and what passed betuixt him and me was indeed but a few days befor he parted; and after what past betuixt my wife and my Ld Lauderdale, wee was in great civillities together, and many offers made, which was not accepted; wherupon it seems this ingine has been fallen on to incenze the King, seeing him use me well; bot till I see yow I will not trouble yow w^t a more full account of that affaire, and wherin the Arch B. relation differs w^t me; and for that end I must desire the seeing you here when I return from Ed^r, wher its like I may go from Kinneill the end of the nixt weeke. I had letters on Saturday that Duke Land: wold be doun this month and by sea; other occurrancis I have bid Smith give yow, but little matteriall yett: the Chancellors way is well enough understood by all fides, and time will clear his politiks. I am very really, Sir, your most affec^t friend,

For Sir James Turner.

HAMILTON.

16. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

16 Jun. [1677.]

I WISH yow had comed your self, for I confes I do not understand

your letter ; for how it can be expected I will apear in any publicke thing, confidering as I am stated, w^tout being called to it by his Ma^{tie}, who has thought it fitt for his service to lay me aside, is a thing sure in comon discretion I ought not to do as a private person. I hope to cary my self as becomes a good subiect, and no body shall be more ready to pay Gen. Dalyell all civillity then your most affec^t friend and servant,

HAMILTON.

For S^r James Turner.

17. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

S^r,

10 Sep^{br} [1677.]

BEING just goeing to my horse for Kinneill, I have onely time to tell yow that I thinke yow may send your letter wheroft I return yow the copy ; for I shall be very glade all honest men may come in imployment, and shall wish yow good succes in itt : onely I shall tell yow that the Lyons place was to his son as well as himself, so that does not vaise ; and I hear the L^t: Colls: place is intended for this young E. of Kellie, and that of the Castle of Ed^r to one Maitland, who is a Cap^t in my brothers regiment, and was once D. L. padge, who is already sent for ; he onely to have the profite of the company, and the other revenew of the Castle to go for D. L. ouen use. I thinke yow had best examine these things, for I wold not have yow rash in exposeing your desires. At my return, which will be the end of this weeke, I shall be glade to see yow, and then it is like yow may hear more from your most affec^t friend,

HAMILTON.

For S^r James Turner.

18. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

S^r,

26 Oct. [1677.]

I THANKE yow for letting me hear from yow. The marching of the forces from Glasgow gives great occasion to people to conjecture what the matter can be, since wee can hear nothing extraordinar of the phanaticks motions, who can hardly I thinke be so mad as to desinge any insurrection, and yett I thinke strange iff the Ministers of State be so allarumed w^tout good ground ; however it makes the caice of private cuntrey men that intends to leave peaceably, pretty difficult what to resolve on in these seaming combustions and alarums. I wish your Arch B. may att last be a good instrument in the fetling off these differencis he says wold tend to the good off his Ma^{ties} service, that things may be fetled by a parliament ; but I fear he is not convinced so in his former errors as to proceed in that method, and sayed so to yow, onely knoueing the respect yow may have for some off those he mentioned. . . . any further off consequence come to your knowledge, I shall expect to hear from yow, as yow shall the like from me, being, S^r your very reall and affec^t friend,

HAMILTON.

19. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

S^r,2 Jan^r, 78.

I THANKE yow for letting me hear what comes to your knowledge, but I am not much alarumed w^t those stories of imprisonment, and I wish that wer the worst wer intended, then I hope our inocensie wold soone relieve us. I hear the Chancellor is gone to Fife last weeke, but the particulare occasion off it, or any thing els of consequence, I have

not heard since parting ; so I have onely to add the reneued assurance of my being, S^r, your most affec^t friend and servant,

HAMILTON.

For S^r James Turner.

20. FROM ANNE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

19 April, 78.

I THANK you hartely for y^r kindnes exprest att this time, which is suitable to many more obligations you haue put on me. I heard yesterdai from my Lord ; his letter was of the 11 ; he had not then seen his Ma^{tie}, but had kisid the Duks hand, which was by an acedent ; for that night he came he went to the Duke of Monmoth, and said he did not goe straught to the King as he ysed to doe, because he heard reports that his Ma^{tie} would not allowe of his waiting on him, and therefore desirid him to aske his Ma^{tie} ; but the D. Monmoth replyed, he had spoken to the King alredy, and the King bid him tell my Lord he would not see him, while he knew what he had to say for his coming without ether his leaue or his counfells, who had made a proclamation to the contrary, but he would uerie quickly apoynt his Cabenet Counsell to heare him ; and upon the Tusday the D. Monmoth tould my Lord to come to his lodging, and he would conduct where the counsell fatt, which was to be the next day ; and the King allowed my Lord to bring whom he thought fitt with him ; so he touk my L. Cocheran, his brother and L^t Generall Drumond. They went to see the Dukes of Monmoth, and stay there while D. M. came to carry them to the place of metting, and there came the D. of Yorke ; my Lord made him a low

bow, but did not goe forward while the Duke made a signe to him, and then he went and presented the rest to him. My Lord said, he looked on itt as a good omen, that they [had] seen his Highnes, and hoped he would be att the Cabenet Counsell ; the D. said, he thought not to haue ben att itt, for seeing them while the King shold, but now he thought he might ; however he was not thare. Those that weare was the Chanc. the Tresurer, Duke M. the Lord Chamberland, and the 2 Secretaries. My Lord spok first, and then the rest, what things has ben don amongst us ; but the thing they insisted most on was, why they had contemned the Kings authoryty in coming without leave, to which they thought they gaue satisfying reas ons. As sone as they came out, the King went in, and D. M. came afterwards, and tould my Lord; His Ma^{re} seemed more fauorably inclined after they had made ther report of what they had said ; but the King desired, for his better information, they would put in writing, which they needed not fyne, and itt shold be returned them againe without been copyed ; with all D. M. tould them, if they declined itt, there would be great advantage taken ; so they were resoluing to doe itt, but you may judge what losse they ar att in wanting aduice of Lawers. This is the sume of what was wretten to me ; only my Lord desires friends may not be discouraged, for he hopes all shall be well, and that his next may giue more ground to expect itt ; but God be blefed, euen this is better then what we weare threthened with. As for the mutiny heere yesterday, I thought itt a uerie pleasant fight to see they trobled no body heere ; but when on company was gone away with their coulers, the L^t Coll. and Cap. L^t rod after them, and ouer touk them at Jareston wood ; they capitulat the buffenes, for itt was to hardy a mater for to gentlemen to

force so many men back againe but by perswasions. Lt Coll. had sume men of his owne who weere prevailed on to returne with a drumer, the rest marched away with their cullers, and beating ther drum; while they weere at this, the other company in the toune went and forced their cullers out of the place they were in, and went their way, doeing rong to none, but beating ther comarods that were unwilling to goe with them; so when the comanders came in from on mutiny, they found a more displesing on, for the company that went from this was the Lt Coll. owne company, but itt was grown dark, and there was no following them. But I am tould itt will reflect on me and this place; I said I could not helpe that, but for my part I wishe all that comes may do so. I heare the regement will now gett leave to goe away; if they had done this soner, they might haue ben dismift soner; and if they had not, I beleue they shold haue stayed as long as they could haue gotten any thing. I shalle troble you no further, but if I heare better news, you shall share. Adieu.

For Sir James Turner.

21. FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

22 Aprell, 5 acloke.

I received y^{rs} within this houer. I haue not heard from my Lord since I wrott to you, so can giue you no further account then what you know. I doe beleue S^r G. Lockhart will be att London before the Kings aduocat, who went with his Lady in coach to Yorke, and from thence is to goe in the stage coach. Sure Hatton has sume other designe in coming to Glaf. then what concernes the ordering the forces,

which itt feemes they haue a mind shall be continued on us as long as they can. I wonder att the great haft in bringing out the Needsdaill regement. I think fume concerned in that shire might haue ben expected would haue stayed for another comand before they had done itt ; but this is a time will discouer who ar friends in realety and who not. Amongst the number of the first I bid you hartly Adieu.

For Sir James Turner.

22. FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

30 Aprill, —78.

I HAUE gott no letter from my friend sinice that you was acquainted with, as you shall when I heare againe ; but I am writen to from Edr fume of those things you mentione ; but what concernes M. Atholl and E. Perthe I doe not credeat ; and I hope more of there assertions ar according to the rest of there way, any thing that makes for them, which, when brought to the test, may have, as other things has had, contrary effectes. That the countrie is att present so much eased is a mercy we ought to be thankfull to God for, and sure our friends has ben no ill instrements in itt, and I trust shall still continue in there duty. By the last packett, D. L. receued a letter from the Arch B. G., showing how well he was receued by the King, and how takeing the naritive was with His Ma^{te} and the Clergie of England, and how firmly the King was resolued to adheir to his Counsell heere, and to approue of there proceedings, as all tending to his serues, and to discountenance D. H., and that party whom yet he had not admitted to his presence. You may beleue this letter is even worne out with reeding ;

yet I shall say no more but, for all this, they haue too parts of the feare. Adieu.

For Sir James Turner.

23. [FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.]

HONERED SIR,

I HAUE receued y^{rs} with the inclosed on you needed not haue returned ; and that which I desired you should, was from no doubt of your cair in any thing wherin our friend is concerned. Since I begun to writt I have gott a return of what I wrott with y^{rs}. He is werie fenceable of your kindnes, and has had his thoughts of what you propofed, but fees great defec to be admitted acces and ordered backe to afke leaue, will furely be dényed. He intends to be in Ed^r to morow night, and hopes day free. Last post brought no confiderable news. I heare those in the west that refusess the bond, or the enacting themselfes, intends to goe to Ed^r, rather then be imprisoned thare ; but itts said they will begin with the most confiderable first, for which they have much reason, for has itts like there will be so many refusers as will doe more then fill there prisons. There is great devesions amongst them, both in Counsell and Comitie. What God may and will bring out of all these disorderly courffes is only known to himselfe, to whose determinations itt will be all our duties to submett. The inclosed is all I gott ; so hartly Adieu.

For Sir James Turner.

24. FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

20 May, —78.

A LITTEL while after y^r faruant went away, I receued letters from our friend of the 14 instant, which came by Mr Benerman. You will see by the incloſed in what condition our friends and ſelfes ar in ; if you have any thing else to ad to what you have already wreten, lett me haue itt by to morow night. I hope a littell time ſhall produce better things, and for the preſent I am altogether of y^r mind. So adieu.

Our friends dufe not intend to the baiths, while they ſee a littell further, and heere what is friends opinion heere.

Mr George Maxwell was ariued, which lett P. A. know.

For Sir James Turner, att Glasgow.

25. FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON

17 June, —78.

THERE needed no appollege for not feeing me, who am not apt to miſtake friends who ar ſo reall as I believe you ar in your profeſſions ; but I am ſory y^r abſence now ſhould be from any indiſpoſition, and wiſhes what has formerly ben a remedy may proue ſucceſfull ſtill. I had letters Saterday by S^r Jo. Cun, and by the packett my lord of a later daitt ; they weere put in hope that the conveſtione would be adjornd, and if it weere not, they weere reſolued to kepe it, and I doe not heare but M. Atholl intends alſo to come notwithstanding of his Ladys jorney. I know no thing of L. G. D. beien in this

cuntrie, and beleues itt is att the same raitt of truth that my Lord is said to be heere, which, if safely, I shoule have ben glad of, for his absence att this time is discouraging to sume. I wishe the D. of L. confidence in carying votts so clearly as 5 to on in the convention, may make him take no other course to bar members fitting ; but sume of there proeider giues ground to think they will fall on sume such way ; a lettell time will now discouer what is att present perplexing. Adieu.

For Sir James Turner, att Glasgow.

26. FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

June 19, [1678.]

THIS day I haue gott letters from my Lord, dated 13, which day he touk jorney with E. Perthe and S^r Jo. Cocheran, and says others takes post, only M. Atholl and E. Kincarne stayes. My Lord thinks to be in Ed. on Saterday ; but there is sume uestion what way he should come, and I shoule be glad to haue y^r aduice. I intend to goe to Ed^r to morow, where, if your helth would permitt, you ar hartely wished for. Adieu.

For Sir James Turner, att Glasgow.

27. FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

20 June, —78.

I OPENED y^{rs} to A. T. and thereby receued y^{rs}. I wishe y^r aduices be followed concerning my friend, which I shall declare is my owne oppinion. I gott a letter this morning, which speakes that G. Deyell

should have gott my brothers regement. Beien so neare goeing away, I haue not time to ade more, but M^r Jo. B. will be with you to morow, and he will tell you more particularly my thoughts then att this time I can writt them. So hartely wishing you your helthe, that your friends may have y^r company. Adieu.

For Sir James Turner, att Glasgow.

28. FROM SIR JAMES TURNER TO A PERSON UNKNOWN.

SIR,

I RECEAVED yo^r last from Ed^r, wherin you gave me a full account of all pasd at yo^r Convention of Estates ; and indeed, when I seriouſlie consider how things were layd and prepard, and how Duke Hamilton was with ſome conſiderable friends at London when that Convention was called by his Ma^{tie}, and how the elections were carried, I can not bot fay, my lord Duke, by his prudent carriage, rather gained ground then lost any ; you will thinke ſo, when you conſider how many of theſe who had declar'd to be of his principles, had diſerted him, and gone over to the other partie ; and of theſe who were aſhamd to doe ſo, how many rather mutterd then ſpoke out their thoughts. I heard before you wrote to me how the Duke had left Scotland, to ſeeke his health at the baths, where now I conceave he is ; bot yow tell me he intends to goe to London before he returne home. Yow tell me D. Lauderdaills animofitie againſt him continues, and desires my thoughts of all theſe affaires, which I ſhall give yow very frelie, how wiſely, judge yo^r ſelfe.

I thinke my lord Duke of Hamilton hath the wolfe by the eares ; he dare neither bite nor let goe. If he goe not to court, his enemie

will tell the king, it is out of disrespect, and perhaps out of contempt or revenge, because reason of state sufferd not his Ma^{tie} to let the Duke kisse his hand last summer. If he goe to Court, I am affrayd he may once more meet a vilage de bois, the bed chamber doore shut vpon him. Bot of tuo evills the lesse must be chosen ; my lord, by his goeing to cast himselfe and his fortunes at the kings feet, vindicates his loyaltie to the world. If the king refuse to admit him to his presence with that affabilitie he honours some meaner persons, the Duke looseth nothing ; for soveraigne princes must be gained by obsequiousnes, bot not by resentment. Yow aske me, if the Grand favourite continue to persecute the Duke of Hamilton, what shall the Duke doe ; I shall tell yow, thogh the stroke be mainlie and directlie intended against the Duke himselfe, yet by an oblique rebound it will give a sad blow to all that Illustrious family. For this reason, I humblie conceave the Duke sould prefer his libertie to all other concernments, and rather hazard any thing then goe to prifon. I apprehend no danger of that by the tender of his service to the king at Whitehall, so it be done before the sitting of the p'liament ; for his appearance at that nick will furnish Lawderdaill subiect to represent to the king groundles feares, needles jealousies and apprehensions, well masked with seeming reasons of state. If my lord get a reall wellcome from the king, he knows then how to take vp his measures ; if it be bot a seeming and a complementall one, I wish he wold take it, and goe away with it ; for the most part of men will thinke his Ma^{tie} is reallie kind to him, and this will doe no hurt ; besides, his Ma^{tie} will have the lesse jealousy of him, being he conceaves himselfe in favour.

Bot yo^r great question is, if the Duke perceave that the king hath

no kindnes for him, bot by the furnisfes of his enemies entertaines jealousies of him, what he shall doe in that cace. I thinke he can doe but one of three, stay where he is in England, goe beyond feas, or come home to Scotland. I apprehend as yet no danger of any of the three. Bot he shall be a loser by doeing any of the first tuo. If he goe beyond feas, first he must be maintaintd thogh Inconnu; nixt the maunagement of his estate will sensiblie misse him; thirdlie, the Dutcheffe will be disconsolat; fourthlie, these who stand yet for him (thogh they be fewer then they were) will fall off, and make their peace, or at least lag behind; lastlie, he diserts his oun and the countreys cause, and gives it for lost. I say stll, if necessitie force him not to seeke shelter abroad, My lord Dukes stay in England (vnles he be in favour) will render him contemptible, the object of his enemies scorne, and will not save him from imprisonment, whenever it is de-signed or concluded. The third is onlie left, to come home, which I humblie thinke is the most honorable and safe of the three. Honorable, because he may live like himself at home, with these particular ents which arise from the pleasure he hath in his confort and children, and the converfation of these whose honor is so deare to them, that they will not bow their knee to Baall. Bot yow say the danger of imprisonment is stll the fame at home that it was, when the bond and lawborrous were prest, and the formidable hofte in the west. I grant yow it is so, bot the wit of man can not guard against all these euills and dangers that the wit of man can forsee. If the Duke, by his intelligence, (which I conceave is not impossible,) or by strong presumptions, fee his incarceration be designd, he may make a step with good enough reasons over to Arran; he hath busines to doe

there ; he may ansuere all they have to fay against him by his proxies and Advocates ; bot if that helpe not, he may without much difficultie get from Arran to some other place of the world, and that is the last refuge, and sould be keepd so in reserve. I cannot fancie the estate can suffer by his retreat, thogh . . . make him fugitive, it is none of his ; and I am as sure, his honor can suffer as litle, when armed malice and black revenge, (which know not to be limited by either justice, reason, law or conscience,) imposeth a necessitie on him to save himselfe.

I saw the Earle of Arran at Paris, came from his travels in Italie. I looke on him as a person of much honor, a smart young lord, and one who in time may prove a very resenting enemie, which perhaps is, or may be apprehended by my lord Dukes enemies, which, peradventure, may prove a bit to restrain some of them from offering palpable injuries both to my lord Duke, or any of his familie. . . . I am afryd yow may aske me, if mischiefe be intended against both fathur and sonne, not that E. Arran hath done any hurt, bot because he may doe it, as it was said of a Duke of Cleve, who hangd young men because they might prove thieves ; and vpon this account, to save themselves an after game, clap vp at one and the same time both the Duke and E. Arran ; what, I say, shall be done in that cace ? First, I say, that may be thought of time enough heerafter ; seondlie, I confesse, when I thinke of the sad fate of an Earle of Douglas and his brother at the castle of Edinburgh, and of the lord Home and his brother in the minoritie of James the fifth, I sould thinke the Duke and his sonne, if they be in one countrey, they sould be bot feldome in one house, till the coasts be more cleare, and the weather looke fairer ; for the ones libertie may save the other from imprisonment. I could en-

large this, bot I have said enough to one who can discant on this sub-
ject better then myselfe. Expect no news from me bot what the gazets
brings yow; whether Spaine and Holland will make peace with us
heere in france or not, a litle time will discover. I pray God keepe yow.

from Havre de Grace,

11 7bris, 78.

29. FROM THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON.

4 Nov. —78.

YOUR continued respects I receue with the fence I aught, and am
altogether of your oppinion, which I beleue my Lord is now of also;
for in his last letter he forbids me to writh more to him. I did de-
fire James should have come home before this; but his father intend-
ing to come, thought fitteſt not to ſend him, but to bring him along
with himſelfe. He wriths no news to me, but I heard from Ed. what
you ſent me, except the taking of the too laſt in the liſte, and that the
Marq: Montros is to mary with the blood royall, I heard not; it
ſeemes this plot has ben of a long contrieuance. I pray God diſcouer
all trateres, and then I am confeſtent we ſhall haue better days. So
hartely farwell. My ſeruſis to your Lady.

For Sir James Turner, att Glasgow.

30. FROM ANDREW TOFTES.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

Hamilton 10 Febr^y 1679.

MR SMITH did leave these books with a manuscript with me, but

forbad me to fend them till he wrot from Ed^r to me, which he hes never yet done ; but, since you seem to need them, receive them from the bearer. I have no newes but what are none to yow, that is, touching the tuo Brothers Regiments, and themselves, to come in place of E. Linlithgow and E. Marr their Reg^{ts}. I have nothing of certainty ; but only it is someq^t probable, if it be not stopt by the Councell. Whither my Lord be yet come off or not, we cannot tell, but we expect to hear to-morrow or Wednesday ; but her Grace thinks he may be on his journey, for her last letters bore his resolution of coming o instant. E. Kincarden comes with him. I the condition that becomes me as, Right Worshipfull, your most obliged, faithfull, humble serv^t

ANDREW TOFTES.

For Sir James Turner at Gorbells.

31. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

S^r,

4 March [1679.]

I AM very sory to hear of your indisposition, and wishes yow your health with all my heart, and shall be glade to see yow here so soon as yow are able. I do regraite the hard measure the Bishop of Ed^r meets with as much as any ; and I beleive all the concernment that St Andrews has for it is the preprative ; but I will say no more till meeting, who am, S^r, your affect^t friend and servant,

HAMILTON.

For Sir James Turner.

32. FROM ANDREW TOFTES.

Hamilton March 4 1679.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

I DELIVERED yours to his Grace ; you have my Lords answser incloſed. I have never yet had one syllable from Mr Smith ordering the delivery of your papers ; but I am glade they came safe to your hands, and that I ſent them that day with your man. We have ſome rumours here, not without probable grounds, of their Grace going for England in May, or about that time ; for other newes I know none. I am very much grieved to hear of your being ill ; I pray God ſend yow health, and it ſhall be defired by none with more ardor then, Right Worſhipfull, your moft obliged faithfull humble ferv^t

ANDREW TOFTES.

For Sir James Turner at Gorbellis.

33. FROM THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

5 Febr [1680.]

I RECEIVED yours, and thanks you kindly for the trouble you have been at in ſpeaking to the Principall and Regents concerning my ſons, to whom I thought it unneceſſary to write to, ſince I am refolved to be there myſelf w'in a little after the Duke goes from this, who waits one-ly now for the yaughts ; for I intend to go from this to Kinneell, and . . Glasgow to Hamilton. I am fory your ouen affaire had no better ſuc-ces, but I confes I expected no better for you, as affairs ſtill contineus ;

when I can contribute any thing to your advantage, you may be assured of the indevores of your most affect^t friend & servant,

HAMILTON.

34. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 14. Jany, 1682.

I HAVE just now receaved ane order from the General for fending Captaine Stewarts troupe of Dragouns to Dounce, wher they are to quarter; I shall therfore defyre ye will order them to march from ther present quarters, on Munday the fixteine instant, to the toune of Dounce, wher they are to quarter till further order. I doubt not but ye have heard of the late insollence committed in the toune of Lenerk one Wednesday laft. Be pleasd to cause dispatch the inclofeit to the Generall by a dragoune soe soon as is possible. Since thes Rebells are begining to apear oppenly againe, I defyre ye will cause yo^r Dragouns be in as good a readynes as is possible; and I think it wer not amiss to fende some tomorrow the length of Lenerk, to know the certainty of this. Sir, I am yo^r most humble servant,

RROSSE.

For Sir James Turner, Thefe.

35. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Glasgow the 22 Janry 1682.

I SEND you heare a nott of the names of some of thes who are said to haue been at the late buffines at Lenerk. I defyre, therefore, that ye

will send a partie of Dragouns to apprehend them if it be possible. I ame told that your Livtenant knows most of them who lives in the paroch of Cather. This list was sent me from Lenerk by Major Whyt; whoe adds, that at parting he receaved express comand from his Royall Highnes to keepe corespondence with me for that effect. I hope ye will order swch persons to goe wpon this partie as will be fitteſt; and whoe, by ther diligence, will inable ws to give a good account of our care and conferne for the Kings service. I wold have the partie to goe to the places first which are neareſt to this, and I wiſh them good ſucces. I am yo^r moſt humble fervant,

ROSSE.

For Sir James Turner, Theſe.

[*On a ſlip encloſed in the Original.*]

Grays of Cryſtie, in the paroch of Cather, about five mylls from Glasgow.

John Rwfall of eaſt feild,

George Hill in Cather crooks,

Wathell in Midowbuckle,

} thes 3 lives in the new paroch of Munklan.

John Wathell in Badſhaw of Lauchope.

Gavine Hamiltone, whos mother lived latly wnder the Laird of Dalyell, at the Ba-
ronſhall, near to the Kirk of Dalyell.

36. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 26 Jan^y. 1682.

I THINKE it no great wonder that two troupes ſhould be ſoe ill accommedat in the toune of Lenerk, when I remember what deficituy

we hadde to gett intertainment for a much fewer number when I was last ther ; but it seems they have order to mew themselves within the narrow confyns of that pitifull litle place, ells I cannot beleive they wold willingly reduce themselves to such straits, as innevitably they most undergoe, if the hors and dragouns fall not be allowed to qwar-ter in the countrie about. Major Whit never signified any thing of ther destres, soe that I was altogether ignorant of it till I hade it from yow. I remember the Generall shew me that he did apprehend ther was a designe that Claveres shoulde come waft, but I found him wery avers to it. As for Lieutenant Lawders informatione anent James Gray, I shall say nothing of it till I returne to Glasgow ; ffor the things taken from the Rebels, I mak not the leaft doubt of ther being prys. And I think it but a small gratification to give the ferjeant that little mear, in confideratione of his losſ. I doe supoſſ that both Russall and Hamiltone wer declared fwgitives by the Circwit court which satt last at Glasgow. Against Munday, I shall give yow a mor certaine account, haveing sent to Edinburgh this last week for the letters of denunciatione. I am yo^r most humble servant,

For Sir James Turner Thes.

ROSSE.

37. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 10 of feb^r 1682.

I HAWE receaved the bound which ye sent me for thes two prisoners apeirānce ; I hawe lykewyſe this day taken bound for the four prisoners browght in from Lochenoſch ; for when I had examined that matter as ſtrickly as I could (heir in the country,) I could find no ground for

apprehending of them ; soe that I beleive the charactor ye give of the comander of that pairty is jwst enowgh. If master Kenavay restore not thes two horses, which he has no pretence to keep, I think the paertie owght to be recalled. I sent yow home yesterday two of yo^r dragouns who wer of M^r Kenavays paertie ; I know not give they came to yow, but this was the occasione. They hade qwartered wpon some persons in Ranfrew, by ane order from the provost, because the per-
sones hade refused to pay a subfidie imposed by the provost in ane ar-
bitrary way, without the least forme or collor either of law or justice,
wpon which I commanded them back to ther qvarters ; and really this
ought not to pas wnpunished, for it will oppen the mouthes of disafec-
ted people to say, ther is nothing intended but ane arbitrary gowern-
ment, then which, I am sure, nothing is mor fals ; one of the two
whoe was qwartering at Ranfrew, his name is John Ros, a persone
whose late miscarriages in Captaine Hay his company might hawe
tawght him mor circomspectione. I shall not be ane ill instrument
with the Archbishope to doe any favor he thinks fitt, tho few of thes
gentlemen have deserved it at his hands. I defyre ye will order one
of yo^r dragouns to cary the inclosed to the Generall, and to delyver
the other to the Justice-clarke. I am yo^r most humble servant,

To Sir James Turner Thes.

Rosse.

38. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 16 day of feb^r 82.

I BELEIVE the badnes of the way was the cause yo^r dragoune re-
turned not sooner. The Generall gave me nottice that he wold recall

master Kanavays partie, besyds which, he signified nothing ells to me, except a comand from the Duke to come in, if it wer poſſible for me ; which indeid at present it is not. As for Muray, yo^r other dragoune, I am ſatisfied he be pardoned. I have given two letters to the bearer, the one to the Generall, and the other to the Treasurer-deput. I defyre ye wold ſend them eaſt with one of yo^r dragouns, whoe will be carefwll to delyver them. I am, yo^r moſt humble fervant,

For Sir James Turner Thes.

ROSSE.

39. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 6 day of March 82.

JOHN CRIGHTONE, my enſigne, cane teſtifie and ſhow it wnder my hand to him, q^{ui}in I told him that I was ſure ye did not know that fellow did belong to me when ye ingadged him, ſoe far I was from intertwaineing any misaprehenſions of yow therein ; nor indeid cane I expeſt any thing of that nature from any body conſerned for the Dutch officers, ſeing I wold willingly doe every thing that might oblige any of them, and particullarly Captaine Dalyell. As for that fellow Blackburne, the reafone why I putt him in prisone was, because he declaired he could ſerve no longer in my company ; and I am ſure, wer he at liberty, he wold run away befor to morrow, and that is the reafone why I ſtill detaine him ther. I am yo^r moſt humble fervant,

For Sir James Turner Thes.

ROSSE.

40. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 8 March 1682.

I HAWE receaved a letter from the Generall, daited one munday, wherin he shws me his Royall highnes gave order that all the foott at Lenerk shoud come to Glasgow ; and I hawe accordingly sent order to Glasgow for taking wpe qwarters for all the four companyes. Captaine Hay will give yow a letter directed to Major Whit, qth I hade dispatched before I receaved yo^{rs} ; when it coms to yo^r hands, I defyre ye will cause send it to Lenerk. As for that fellow ye wreat of, I hope ye will excuse me when I tell yow that I hawe refused him to my brother-in-law, Captaine Ramsey. Sir, I am yo^r most humble servant,

ROSSE.

For Sir James Turner. Thes.

41. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 11 March 1682.

IT was folly the consideracione of yo^r dragouns advantage which made me foe wnwilling to remove them out of the paroch of Govan ; for I know not that place in this country wher either they cane ly foe contigous, ore be foe well provyded in hors meat, which is a great consideracione this scairs year ; and, in my oppinione, the first is noe les at such a tyme, qwhen the barbarous rebels are knocking doune thos who ferue the king in every corner ; but since ye are foe defyrous to haw yo^r dragowns removed, I am satisfied that ye qwarter them in the

paroches of Cathcart, Carmanock, and Rutherglen. I am wnvilling to
qwarter wpon the barronrie, the Archbishope being from home ; but
I think they wold hawe been better qwartered in the paroch of Easter
Kilpatrick, and places ajacent, then wher they are goeing, because noe
body hath been qwartered ther of a longe tyme. I am yo^r most hum-
ble servent,

ROSSE.

For Sir James Turner. Thes.

42. FROM JAMES EARL OF ARRAN.

SIR,

Ham. March 21 1682.

I HAVE been soe often oblidged to yow that I have noe reasen to
dout of your affection, and assitance to what relaits to my concernes,
which makes me crosse yow with this francknesse ; for tho I know yow
hav had severall officers meaking recrutes amonegst yow alreadie, and
soe it will be the header task now ; yet, for old aqwantance faik, I
will desir your assitance for some men that I ame leavieng for my
oun particular. I intend to be with yow upon thuriday, but thought
my giving yow this advertisement could doe [no] hurt, since at the fain
tyme it is to assure yow, that I ame your faithfull freind and servant,

For Sir James Turner, at Glasgow.

ARRAN.

43. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

SIR,

Ham. March 22 1682.

I HAVE just now received yours, and am ashaimed I did not thank
yow yesterday for the letter I had at my arrivall. I ame sorie that

yow are indisposed, but I thank God I ame not, and as longe as I have health, I think it is the best tyme I can emploie to visit my freinds ; soe I shall not faill sieng yow, and assur yow that I ame your affectionat freind and servant,

ARAN.

For Sir James Turner, at Glasgow.

44. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 25 March 1682.

I AM of yo^r opinione, that Orbestoune might haw satisfied himself with apprehending such of his oune tenants as wer gultie of the late rebellion, and yet this discowerie wold hawe done better hade it been made a twelve moneth agoe ; which certainly I think might hawe been done as well then as now. Ther is noe body, I am certaine, les^s ambitious of command then my self. But yow may remember what orders the Generall was pleased to lay wpon me before yo^r self ; and therfor, wnl^{es} I know how they are disposed, I cane give him noe account of my deligence : And wpon the other hand, ye know I was alvays ready to comply with every motione ye were pleased to make relateing to yo^r dragouns : Soe that I am sure my comands could not be wery burthensome. In the meine tyme, I doe asure yow I shall be farr from taking nottice of what is past, our great buffines being to serve the King faithfully, and not to screw wpe our animosities and peiks one against another. I am, Sir, yo^r most humble servant,

For Sir James Turner. Thes.

ROSSE.

45. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Hamilton March 27 1682.

I HAVE had yours, and fince my laſt one from Orbistoun, wherine he ſeames mightilie ſurprized with my fever letter; for he tells me ther is not one of thos men that he had feazed on that he could not prove ſuch crimes againſt them, and eſpetialie that man of My Lord Dundonalds, who, he fayes, was til of lait one of his own tenantes, and that moft of theſe he took wer moft of them rogges that lived under himſelf, and that he would meak out ſuch thinges againſt them, that they would willinglie goe anie where reather then byde the fen-ſure of the law. His beinge ſoe poſſitive, has hindred me from writting to my Lord Dundonald, till I ſpiek with him ſelf, who I expect heer this night, and yow ſhall be enformed of what paſſeth. He tells me too ther wer two men that Houſton had given me, and one that Bishop-toun had done the like with, and your ſergant had ſett all at libertie. I hope Orbistoun will wait upon yow, and give yow a particular ac- count himſelf, of the reaſones why he took thos men; at lieaſt if he dont doe itt as he comes upp, I shall meak him wait one yow when he comes from hence, and when you are togither you cane agrie what is beſt to bee done. I dont think it fitt for me to writt to the Generall till wee ſee what is repreſented, and then I ſhall not fail to doe what you ſhall think moft conveinient. I hear ther is one Thomas Kenn-way, that rides in the gward, that goes upp and doun theſe countries about Glasgow, to find out thos that has been acceſſorie or actualie in the laſt rebellions. I beleive if he be dealt with, he may furniſh ſome

men easifie, which I begge yow would doe if he be off your acqwantage. I heare ther are just now some men arrived from Glasgow, which meakes me stope my letter till I know what they are, that I may give yow ane account of them now. My Major is come in, and has brought 13 men alongest with him. I have noe more to adde, but that I hope in a litle tyme I may, in spytt of ill fortune, meak upp the number I proposse to my self. I am your faithfull humble fervant,

ARAN.

For Sir James Turner.

46. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Hamilton March 28 1682.

I BEGGE yow a thousand pardons for detaining your servant soe long, but just as I received yours, I was getting a horsback to taise the aire, which has hindred my writting till now. I find Orbistoune continewes to say, that thos men he had taiken, he could prove against all of them, that they wer in the lait rebellion, ore what would come within the acte of Parliament, which reaches the securing of vagabons and villans; and he fayes ther wer 12 of thos men his own, and that I might be feur he would not, for his own faik, secure anie men but thos that he might be warranted to doe by law, and that the assistance he had from yow was what he hopes yow wont be qwestioned for, when he comes to be examined what men they were he had seazed upon; and fince he came heer, I see he has bein thraitned, by som of thos men that wer sett at libertie, to have his hous burnt, as the Laird of Barochan, who was accidentally with him when he was upon that expedi-

tion, has had his hous, as I ame informed. For all this I intend to writt to my Lord Dundonald tomorrow, and follow anie thing yow think fitt to advisse me, which is all I have to adde at prefent, but that I ame your faithfull humble servant,

ARAN.

For Sir James Turner.

47. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Hamilton March 29 1682.

I AME forie yow should haue given yourself the trouble of sending your fergant or your corporall, since yow may be feur what ever yow say is of more weght with me then that yow nead have taiken this paines of convincing mee. Yow know I ame ignorant of what are the concernes of thos men but as I ame informed, and for my pairt, I will look noe more after them ; I wish I had neaver meddeled with anie of them, since yow rune anie risque to be blamed for what yow have done ; tho I ame confident, when yow are heard, you'l meet with a very gentill reproof, if anie. I shall not fail to writt to my Lord Dundonald, and tell him that he might be assured what ever man of his had been offred me, I would neaver have accepted him if he did not think it fitting, and that I ame forrie Orbistoun had feazed on any of his tenants. Orbistoun tells me that he is resolved to seaze on thos that are his oun men, againe to bring them to justice ; tho for my pairt I caire for none of them, since it has maid such a clamour in the contrie, which does my leavies ten tymes more hurt then twice the number of men could doe me good. I ame forrie yow euse the expref-
sion of being baiten with double rodes. Yow may be feur, as to what

relaits to my pairt, I ame not capable of thinking yow are in the least in the wrong, and I hope thos yow nead to cair for will be off my opinion ; but I think y^e best will be to let the thing fall to y^e ground. I have had three or four voluntires from Ruglen, and I have ingaged one man more, who received my monie voluntarlie, and now refuses to goe ; I think ther can be noe hurt in taiking such a man as that. His naime is John Fairey. I sent doun one that took one with me to see if he could gett anie of his comrades ; soe this John Faire received my earnest from the handes of one David Scott, befor severall wittnesses, but now refuses to goe ; soe if yow dont think it [may] bring yow into new trowble, I should desir yow would caus some of thos of your dragowns that stay in the place bring him to me. I have noe more to add tq this, but that I ame your faithfull humble servant,

For Sir James Turner.

ARAN.

48. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Saturday, 4 aclock.

I HAVE just now had yours, but I am informed that that Fairie which was taiken one by David Scott, is a lustie young fellow, and that he who yow talk of is a younger brother ; how ever, I shall doe what yow will advis me, but I had soe manie that have taikin my monie and cheated me, that I ame loth to trust anie more. Ther is one George Baxter too in Ruglen, who I have bein extraordinary kind too. He came a volontir, and upon that account I was much kinder then to y^e others ; but now he has taiken my monie thes 8 or ten dayes, and absents him self ; soe if under the pretext of shairching for the

other, they can fall upon him, I shall think it is a good chainge. To shoo how litle I preffe people, ther came hither a boye to take one, and nixt day his master came from Glasgow to tell me he was his apprentice, and had rune away upon some debait that aroffe betuixt him and some of his other servants ; immediatly I restored the young man, and told him I would protect noe bodies servants against ther maisters. I had severall officers with me yesterday, but Cap: Inis was not amongst them, nor did I gett soe much as one man. I have now one Captan Cuningame with yow, and if anie of my friends have any resolutions of letting me have anie more men, I should be glad they would fende them upp with him. I should be glad to know what I might hope for. I ame joust now goeing out to meet my father, who, wee fancie will be heer this night. I have so bad a pen, and ame in so much haift, that I believe you'l heardlie be aible to reed this. I ame your faithful freind and servant,

ARAN.

For Sir James Turner.

49. FROM SIR THOMAS LIVINGSTONE.

SIR,

Lieth 11 April [1682.]

THE dragoene who you have been plaesed to sent with a letter, telling me ther is six men by the way for my Lord Arans regiment, came to me this morning. It is onpossible for me to meet the men my self, but schall fende an officer, in regard we ar to part to morro, and I have saeveral busines. In the maen tyme I schal not fael to acquent my Lord Aran of your kyndnes, and remain your most humble fervent,

For Major Turnare att Glaskoue Thes.

T. LEVINGSTONE.

50. FROM SIR THOMAS LIVINGSTONE.

SIR,

SINCE my last your dragouns did come heer, bringing along with them fyve men ; as for that gentelman Robisone, I schal not fael to recomend him to my Lord Aran, and for my particular, any kyndnes I ame capabel he schal dispose of. In the maen tyme, if you plaese lye any comands opon me to the plaese wheer I ame going, ther schal bee no man moor reddi to scho hoe much I ame your most humble and obedient servent,

T. LEVINGSTONE.

For Major Turner at Glasco.

51. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 13 Aprill 1682.

I AM really soe wndesposed still that I am not able to goe about busines as formerly ; therefore, (till it pleas God) that I recover my health, I shall defyre that ye will qwarter yo^r dragounes in the most convenient pleases ye think fitt, which I shall aprow off ; I defyre lykwyse ye will wreath to Captaine Inglis, and shew him that I have ane order from the Generall to call ane counsell of warr betwixt his Ensigne Lewies Lawder and ane tenant of the Earle of Lowdons ; if Lawder find himself in the wronge, I wish he may take some cours to take it avay, and I shall give him all the tyme I can posibly for doeing of it. In the meine tyme I wish he would send me a trew acount of the wholl affaire. I am fory to heir that yo^r gutt hath twrned from ill to wors ;

so foone as I am able I hope to see yow. I am your most humble
servant,

For Sir James Turner.

ROSSE.

52. FROM THE LORD ROSS.

HONNORED SIR,

Halkhead the 15 Aprill 1682.

I AM very glade that Ensigne Lawder is come wpe to Glasgow ; I am very defyrouſ to speak with him ; if ye thinke fitt to fend him hither, wpone Munday about two a clock in the afternoone, ore any other of the dragouns whoe wer conſerned in that affaire, for I am wery defyrous to doe them all the right I cane. I wish they may make the busines as clear as is posible ; which, eftre I hawe ſpoken with them, I will endeavou' to airt them as right (to mak ther oun pairt faire) as I can, for I am a litle conſerned to haw them com hanſomly off in that, if it be posible. Loudounes officer, called Campbell, was with me, defyring a continuatiōne of the counſell of warr till the eigh- teine of May, which I made him give me wnder his hand as his oun defyre, but I gave him no assurance to delay it for ane hour. Now, if Ensigne Lawder find it more convenient to continowe it till that dyet, ore to haw it cald mor fumarily, I cane doe either of them he finds moft convenient.

Since I am to ſpeak with the persons whoe wer actors in that buſi- nes, I will certainly receave a more clear informatione from them then Captaine Ingliſh is able to wreat ; and therefor I haw returned yow back his letter. Sir, I am your moft humble servant,

For Sir James Turner Theſe.

ROSSE.

53. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Ham. Ap: 19 1682.

I HAD yours of the 18 this morning, and has spoken to Orbistoun about that man Longe. He has promised me to talk to the father, who he sayes he can governe as he pleases ; and more then that, if the son should infist, he can meak out such things against him that will taik his life if he should persew him, ore in the leaist revive this affaire. I have had noe letters yett from E^d. so can tell you nothing about the men, onlie I desir you would taik one noe more, nor put your self to further trouble, which is all at present from your faithfull freind and serva^{nt},

ARRAN.

For Sir James Turner.

54. FROM SIR JAMES TURNER TO THE EARL OF ARRAN.

MY NOBLE LORD,

21st April 1682.

I SHALL waite vpon yo^r lo^p direction concerning these men I levied for y^r lo^p, and shall meddle no more, hopeing yow will need no more ; and if the French king be well naturd, it is probable the Estates of the Vnited Provinces will be more readie to disband then raise more forces. I beseech yo^r lo^p let me know if I shall take these drops with cherrie facke in the morning, and how long I shall fast after. Bot the maine errand of this letter is to shew yo^r lo^p, that the other day I was told by a friende, that it is certaine that the Deane of Glasgow, now minister at Hamilton, did of himselfe, without any previous desire of

the Archbisop, promise to him not to nominate Doctor Birsbine or Mr William Blaire to be his asseffors when he was rector ; and yet, notwithstanding his promise, nominated them both. I am sorry one who had the generall reputation of an honnest man, shoulde have done any thing like a prevarication ; but that which troubled me most was, that it is said, your lo^r invited and prompted the Deane to doe so. Your lo^r knows what yow owe to that order re-establisht by law; which yow know his Ma^{tie} ownes so much, nor needs any man tell yow what respect is due to an Archbisop whom his Ma^{tie} hath made the third person of this kingdom, whose authoritie was trampled on by the more than magisteriall masters of our univerſitie, particularlie these two I just now mentioned ; and I thinke not onlie the Epifcopall order, bot the royall power, was wounded through his fides. How much it may concerne yo^r lo^r to reverence that function, and these who are in it, no bodie needs informe the Earle of Arran. And for these two men, I beleeve yo^r lo^r had reason to expect more fervice to your ſelfe and noble familie from 2 lackeys, than from them both. However, the Deane hath demitted, and Mr Waddell is chofen Rector, who hath nominated none of these two gentlemen to be his asseffors. I am sorry to learn that the phisitians have yesterdai told my Lord Rof^s, that the malignitie of his maladie is above their cure, though not their ſkill. I am, etc.

Gorbells, 21 Aprile, at night.

55. FROM WILLIAM MASTER OF ROSS.

SIR,

Halkhead Aprill 25.

I RECEAVEED yours, and according to your comands delivered the inclosed to my father, who begs your pardon he was not able to writ to you, but orders me to shew you he is very ueal satisfied with what the general wris to you ; he is extraordinarily much better than he was soone days befor this and I hop is nou in the way of recovery.

I am, Sir, your most humble servtant,

W. ROSSE.

For Sir James Turner.

56. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Thursday y^e 4 of May 7 at night

SINCE the last tyme I troubled yow, I have received a letter from Collo: Douglas, telling that he will receive my men ; his ship is lieng in Leith Road. I told him I had twelve men, for I thought Orbiston had had eight. He desired I may caus imbark 6 men in John Burn-sydes ship, and 6 in Robert Dumbars ; they are both leing togither. I had a letter yesterday from Orbiston, telling me he would deliver what men he had to Cap. Douglas, who had promised to caus convoy them to the shoar. I wish yow would enquir what men he has received, and lett me know ther names, togither with the 4 yow have, and the 2 my Lo: Semple promised mee. Collo: Douglas tells me the people are verie rude to the officers that embark the men, so desires me to gett some discreet man to taik caire of thos that are sent ; but I think yow may

talk with Cap: Douglas, and send the men with thos Orbiston has delivered to him. I'll swar I ame so ashamed to euse this freedom with yow, that wer itt not that I know you'l forgive me, I should neaver have eused yow with this freedom. I had letters by the last post that tels me the Duk was then resolved to com off one the 5, which, if the nixt post confirmes, I wil imediately goe to Ed^r; but, as yett, I have taiken noe other resolusion. So I ame your faithfull freind and servant,

ARAN,

57. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Ham. May 6 1682.

I HAVE just now had yours, and imediately begune my letter, that your fervant may be with yow in all haifte. I confess I ame mor and more amaized at Orbistouns cariadge. I think Cap: Douglas is extreamlie in the right; nor did I my self ever understand that he should be putt to further trouble, than when they were brought to him, to help them forward with a gwaider, which Orbistoun writh to mee he had ingaged to doe, since he was to fende in some men however to Coll: Douglas, for his euse; so I thought it would be all one trouble to carie in a few more, which maid me think of troubling Cap: Douglas. I am afryed, if the wind comes butt a litle more futhward, the shipes will be fayled befor the men gett thither; however, it is but venturing the jurnie. I doe heer fende yow a letter to the masters of the two shipes, according to your desir, to receave what men Duncan Grant delivers for my euse; but I wishe they may be put aboard Collo: Douglas, tho I dont know particularlie which is his; and so soon as I

hear that y^e men are dispatched, I shall writh to Collo: Douglas. I wish I knew the possitive number, for if they be but 7, I think it wer best to send them aboard Douglas ship; but becaus I told him in my last I had a dozen of men, he desired I might send 6 aboard Lif^t: Collo: Buchan, and the other 6 aboard his ship; but if ther be but one mor then the half, I think it best not to seperat them. I hope yow have not given my aqwittance to Baxters wife, sinc she tels so foolish a storie for her husband, and I meak noe dout to gett him mead wearie of his life heer. But since the town of Ruglen ingaged to furnish that man, I don't see why they should not meak good ther word. I doe assuere yow, if I had thought you had had so bad a memorie, I had neaver put yow to this trouble; but I thought in comoradship one might be assistant to ane other upon such occasions as this, but not at the raite yow have eisfed me, for it has put yow to too much trouble, and more coast then is fitt to meak a compliment off; which is all at present from your faithfull friend and servant,

ARAN.

58. FROM THE LORD SEMPILL.

S^r,

Castle Sempill, May 6th 1682.

I RECD yo", and as to thoſe men concerning which yow writ, I keep them ſoe longe untill I did defpair of yo^r ſending for them, while att length there freinds gave board and caution for them, and now they are att there liberty, for that it can hardly bee expected that they will promise willingness to goe, which is all at present from, S^r, yo^r very humble fervant,

SEMPILL.

For S^r James Turner

att Gorbells These.

59. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Ed. May 11 1682.

I HAVE bin in such a hurrie ever since I came, that I could not dispatche your dragoun sooner, which I hope yow will pardon. I was in good hopes to have found yow heer at my arivall yesterday. I think of goeing allong with the Duk, or to follow him verie suddenlie, the Duk goes from hence on Monday or tuesday, which is all at present from your faithfull freind and servant,

ARRAN.

For Sir James Turner.

60. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Ed. May 19 1682.

I HAD yours yesterday, and was extreamlie surprized when yow told me what yow apprehended uas like to befall yow. I assur yow, without meaking anie kind of compliment, I ame soe much concerned in whatever relaites to yow, that yow may assur yourself that I will follow anie method yow can proposse to doe yow service ; but till what yow told me yourself, I had neaver heard anie thing of itt, nor could I allmost belive it when yow wrott itt. I think yett such measures may be taiken that yow will hear noe more of it neather ; for according to that skeme that was propoſſed, and ſome other changes to attend itt, I heer nothing is like to follow. I goe over to Fife to morrow, and ſhall be back again the midle of the nixt week, and then I intend to beginne my journie for London ; ſoe if yow have anie commandes for me, I ſhould be glad to have them by that tyme. You may be affuſed of all the freindſhip my father can ſhow yow, and intirlie command your moſt affuſed freind and ſervant,

ARRAN.

For Sir James Turner, att Glasgow.

61. FROM THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Friday, past 7 in the afternoon.

I HAVE just now had that which yow wrott at twelve, and ame extreamlie oblidged to yow for the inclosed yow sent me, but I find I have most of them in my listes. I ame affraiyyed they are all fled since I came into this contrie, for I ame a great bogle amonkest them. I think yow took the best courſſe in putting them in to Glasgow tobuth, and I meak noe dout, when the Generall knowes they are people that are disturberes of the peace of the contrie, tho it would be heard to meak out particulars against them, yett ther being sent off the contrie I think were noe ill service both to the King and the Governement. I hope my Lord Rosſe will be of the faime oppinion. I ame feur nothing in the world could afflict me more then that yow should in the liest be found fault with upon my account, but I hope yow are in noe danger; but now I must begge to know how I shall bestur my self to gett thos men that are in the tolbuth, and the others that the other paertie will bring alongest with them. I intend both Orbistown and my Major shall come and wait one yow to ask your advice, and I hope yow will spur the officers, that gave me a great mainie fair promiffes laſt night to be as good as ther wordes. I shall add noe more, but impatiently expect what will be the event [of] our endeavours, and affuse yow that I ame extreamlie ſenſible of your kindneſſe, and ſhall ever be your faithfull friend and fervant,

ARRAN.

For Sir James Turner.





